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EGYPTOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

Results of a Journey in 1904

BY

W. MAX MÜLLER

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington
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PREFACE.

The material for the present publication was collected in Egypt during the summer and fall of 1904, summer being especially favorable for working in such places, which, during the traveling season, are crowded with tourists and their native followers. I remained at the Museum of Cairo for some time, to study the treasures which had either been found during recent years or which had been packed away for the great moving from Gizeh to Cairo, when I visited the museum in 1901, or which had been less favorably exhibited in the old building at Gizeh. My work in the upper country was confined almost exclusively to ancient Thebes and surroundings. Ill health prevented the carrying out of my plans relating to various other ruins, but I succeeded in gathering considerable material in the vast ruins of the No-Amon of the Hebrews. The hours of busy solitude, especially among the gigantic walls and columns of Karnak, will always remain a blessed remembrance to me.

The main object of my studies were the monuments recording the relations of ancient Egypt to foreign countries, especially to Asia and Europe—monuments which are mostly direct contributions to Biblical studies and in many ways elucidate the history of the whole world. Hence my anxiety to collect every small fragment of the geographical lists by which the Pharaohs wished to commemorate their Syrian victories or their diplomatic connections. I therefore thought it also my duty rather to secure final, or at least better, copies of the most important "known" texts belonging to that category than to search for some "new" hieroglyphic graffito, such as may easily be found by the patient hunter. Such hunting has its charms and often brings a certain reputation among the unlearned, but we owe to the prevalence of this sport the fact that so many "known" monuments have disappeared forever, before they could be better recorded for science. To many it may seem unnecessary to spend weeks of hard work on monuments which were known to the first Egyptologists and which in some cases have been described more than once. But some of the best "known" texts have repaid my labor especially well and will prove to be, perhaps, the most useful part of this publication, although some monuments are herein shown which may claim the charm of recent discovery.

The full philological explanation and discussion of the monuments figured in my plates would require more detailed study than I can afford now; especially the texts contributing to Biblical geography would need a very full discussion. The consultation of European libraries, the compari-

sen of similar monuments in distant museums, etc., the use of hieroglyphic types would have been desirable; but instead of deferring the publication for another year or longer, I have followed the principle "bis dat qui cito dat" and have given my plates with only a brief descriptive introduction. The description is to inform the non-Egyptologist, to a certain extent, about the general contents of the plates.

The plates have been kept in legible size, but are otherwise as unpretentious as possible, in order not to retard the publication. But certain representations of anthropological value are reproduced so fully that the inevitable destruction sooner or later awaiting those monuments may be regarded with less fear.

The transcription follows the usual system of modern Egyptology, but it has been adapted to the prevailing Semitistic system in s (Hebrew Sade) for the s, ṯ, ḏ, of Egyptologists. For the sibilant t (formerly rendered θ, now ṯ), I have employed t (i. e., half ts), for k mostly q. In general I have tried to avoid the obscurities of transliteration, but popularizing is very difficult in a field so full of uncertainties as the pronunciation of the hieroglyphics, on which so little agreement exists among scholars.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to those officials of the governmental *Service des Antiquités*, who in various ways aided me in my work; to Director G. Maspero and Inspectors H. Carter and G. Legrain; also to the conservators of the Museum of Cairo, E. Brugsch and G. Daressy.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington supplied the funds for the mission, the results of which are here recorded, and has also provided means for this publication. I trust that this liberality may find due appreciation and that this contribution to orientalistic knowledge may prove to be useful.

W. MAX MÜLLER.

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 30, 1905.

NOTE.—I regret to state that my departure to the Orient does not allow me to watch the execution of the last revision in a number of photolithographic plates. I am indebted to Mr. J. L. Ridgway, of the U. S. Geological Survey, for supervising the last touches and I expect that he will master this ungrateful task faithfully and successfully; if any minutiæ escape his attention, the responsibility will rest on the absent author.

EGYPTOLOGICAL RESEARCHES.

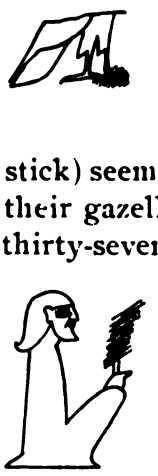
FOREIGNERS IMPORTING TIN INTO ANCIENT EGYPT, ABOUT 2500 B. C.

(PLATE I.)[1]

The Museum of Cairo preserves, among a group of various stones from the end of the Old Empire, a fragment of very enigmatic nature which I have reproduced in plate I (about one-third of the original size). It consists of limestone, and shows in characteristic, bold relief the style of Dynasty 6. It comes evidently from the wall of a tomb representing the deceased reviewing a part of his subjects as their ruler or exercising his functions as a royal official. Here that part of the functions of that prince or official is meant which brought him in contact with the foreign countries. This is shown by the remnants of the first row—legs of three men, before whom a gazelle or a similar animal is driven. This suffices to indicate that they are coming from the desert, as foreign wanderers or as Egyptian hunters and explorers. With this agrees also the short clothing of these wanderers. The five legs show the dark brown-red of the ordinary Egyptians. If foreigners were meant, the white Libyans or the negroes would be excluded. Syrians would be somewhat unusual with such a dark hue, but it is, after all, not impossible, especially with wandering desert tribes. (Compare the famous Asiatics in Beni Hasan.) We might think also of nomadic Africans in the Arabian desert, Hamitic Trog(l)odytes. The Egyptians like to treat these as negroes, but it would be more natural to see them painted dark red, like their brethren on the frankincense coast of Punt (Biblical *Phut*, *Pût*), i. e., the modern Tadjura Bay and adjacent regions of the modern Danâkîl and Somali coast. (The ancestors of the latter people themselves, of course, are not meant, as the accompanying animal of the desert shows.) It would be quite possible to consider these strangers also as hunting Egyptians, presenting a specimen trophy of their chase to a noble lord, but the fragmentary hieroglyphics speak of strangers. We have the plural sign, before it

[1] The stone had no number. It was kept in the small room at the side of room C, stones of Dynasty 6.

the sign for Asiatics (properly for Asiatic shepherds), above the boomerang, (red), determinating once more foreign, especially Asiatic, names; before this a mutilated bird sign, evidently not the *m* of *ʿmw*, *ʿamêu*, "Asiatics," according to tail and claws, but *tyw*, marking the plural of names derived from countries. So we have "(the) . . . ians," and the extremely pretty and clear determinative (a bearded Asiatic with throwing-stick) seems to settle it beyond further dispute that the desert wanderers with their gazelle are intended to represent Semites, Bedawin, similar to those thirty-seven wandering Semites of Khnemhotep (Beni-Hasan tomb, Dynasty 12) who have given rise to so many conjectures (among which the most stupid gained the widest circulation—that they represent the immigration of Abraham and Sarah!) Our picture, an analogy to that interesting scene of Beni-Hasan and at least 500 years earlier, would deserve our highest attention had not fate left only the legs of the Bedawin, from which even the most skilled anthropologist will not gain many scientific results.



In the second row, infinitely more enigmatic and more interesting, the colors have mostly disappeared, only faint traces being preserved. My notes say: First man, very light red, hair black, the ingot of metal reddish (?). Second man, rather light red, eye and hair black; the ingot has doubtful dark (black?) traces (probably only dirt). Third man, very light red, garment white, ingot? (but neither blue nor black). Fourth man, almost orange, dress white, the three throwing-sticks citron (?).

The inscription is enigmatic in the beginning,[1] the sense of which would require very bold guessing. Only the shepherd sign (red skin, black eye, white garment, red throwing-stick; the beard less distinctly Syrian than above) suggests that Asiatics are spoken of. The second half would then read: "(some kind of Asiatics) with tin ingots, with things . . . ", i. e., probably, "with [all good] things [of their land]."

One thing is now plain: The metal ingots borne by these four persons as presents to the king or the high official, or as merchandise, are tin (or lead?—for the word *dhṭy*, Copt. *taht*, includes also the latter metal; sometimes the "*white dhṭ(y)*" distinguishes the tin). But who are the bringers of these ingots?

[1] Owl, arm, papyrus roll? or (*s*)-door-bolt ?; the sixth sign seemed to me on the original a decided *nb*, while the photograph would seem to favor a *k* mutilated on the left. If *m(y)(?)kw* were to be read, this would be a new word (hardly connected with the word *mkw* for a kind of ships.) But, I repeat, the *k* sign is rather a *nb*.

The tin, which the ancient orient needed for its bronze (not zinc—zinc bronze is much later) came, as we know, from the west, not from the tin mines of the Malayan peninsula, the Caucasus, or Chorassan. The Phœnicians procured it for the Assyro-Babylonians;[1] the Egyptians, likewise, mention the metal among the tributes and presents from Phœnicia and Cyprus. (See page 24.) So, then, it was always European tin used by the Egyptians in their bronze objects, which date back, it seems, even to 3000 B. C., but become more frequent only after 2000 B. C. That metal came either from the British tin mines, the product of which was bartered through Gaul to the harbor of Massilia (a place probably much older than the Greek colony at this locality) and to Upper Italy, or from the mountains of Central Germany. The latter source, which seems to have furnished the material, at least, for the great bronze industry of Central Europe (Southern Bavaria, the Alps, Etruria), is the most plausible one for the early time of our Egyptian monument, i. e., the earlier half of the third millennium B. C.[2]

But who are the people here furnishing the precious metal to the Egyptians? Certainly not Phœnicians, for these (and all Semites) seem always to have been bearded, 3000 B. C. as well as later (compare twice above the conventional hieroglyphic sign for "Asiatic"); neither would other details agree with Phœnician sailors. Can we think of Ægeans? The facial type (not very characteristic, it is true; almost like some conventional Egyptian types) would be very favorable, also the color, both agreeing remarkably with the Ægean types of 1500 B. C., which we shall discuss below, commenting on the tomb of Sen-mût. The clean-shaven face is the most forceful analogy; the hair would be treated without distinguishing the Ægean peculiarities—just as in the tomb of Sen-mût; besides, the difference of time and nationality might be used as an explanation for the seeming omission of those peculiarities. Similar explanations might be tried with the linen garments of our tin-carriers (covering the left shoulder and leaving the right one exposed), which is perfectly identical with the fuller costume of Khnemhotep's Asiatics and allows a certain comparison with the later Hittite, Elamite, etc., upper garment and with some classical costumes. This costume would thus favor the explanation as Phœnicians—if only it were possible to overcome the other difficulties of this theory! Strange is the only other gift of our foreigners—the throwing-sticks of the second and fourth man. These arms appear elsewhere among the gifts of the Syrians, forming especially the regular weapon of the poor Bedawin. The throwing-stick is, indeed, the hieroglyphic symbol of the Asiatics (compare above, on this hiero-

[1] As has been shown by Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen.*

[2] As said above, the word may be used also for lead. It is, however, not very probable that this less esteemed metal is meant in our boastful representation; furthermore lead would point to Asia and Europe just as well as tin.

glyphic sign on our fragment).[1] It would be surprising to find this favorite weapon of nations poor in metal with the Europeans who elsewhere are the smiths and miners *par excellence*, the bringers of precious metal in our very same picture. We may, however, find explanations also for this detail. Egypt was, as we know, almost as poor in good wood as in metal, and hard wood (even for more elegant walking-sticks) had to be imported from Syria and other remote countries.

To exhaust all possible (or rather impossible) theories: Egyptian carriers or traders of imported material can hardly be meant here (compare the dress and the color of the skin, distinguishing our mysterious foreigners from the people of the upper row and the Egyptians).

We have only one refuge left—to assume confusions of various peoples by our artist, a mixing of peculiarities of Europeans and Phœnicians. This *ultima ratio* is, however, to be used with great care; doubly so in the case of such a unique monument. The general rule is the confirmation of the remarkable faithfulness of the Egyptian artists with regard to details of race and costume. Thus, after all, the most plausible theory is to assume that these merchants (or ambassadors) importing metal into Egypt are seafarers from the European or Asiatic side of the Ægean Sea. The perfect isolation of our strange monument makes it, indeed, difficult and hazardous to pronounce any definite judgment. Let us hope that, some day, a similar find will supplement this curious testimony of maritime intercourse between Egypt and remote countries, which many scholars would not believe to have been known to the Egyptians 2500 B. C. or earlier, even by name.

[1] My first thought was of the African *Pwnt(w)* on the Red Sea (compare above), whose throwing-sticks were especially famous, but everything militates against this explanation; dress, hair, face, the lack of the chin beard of the Punty, color, above all, the tin, which, if I am not mistaken, does not occur in Africa at all.

MESOPOTAMIANS IN EGYPT, BEFORE 2500 B. C.

(PLATE 2.)

The fragment of a limestone slab in the Museum of Cairo, which I reproduce in a photograph (coming rather near the size of the original) forms a certain analogy to the preceding monument in many points. Its analogous nature and its place among the monuments of the museum point to provenience from about the same Memphitic tombs of the end of the Ancient Empire. The style is more reminiscent of Dynasty 5, but this can be left an open question, as there is so much originality in the sculptures for which it would not be easy to find analogies.

The representations are of a nature very similar to that of the stone exhibiting the people whom I have called Ægeans (p. 7). As on that monument, various classes of people here pay homage to the prince or high official who must have been represented on the right side of the wall from the left end of which we have here a fragment. The inferior row exhibits a basket with victuals, evidently carried on the head by a peasant woman as tribute or present for the noble lord who, of course, owned a number of villages and serfs, like all men of rank—quite a stereotyped representation.

The middle row shows such signs of submission or respect coming in on the Nile—another representation frequent in the tombs. It has become so conventional that our artist feels bound to treat it rather freely. We see a young peasant woman pushing along her light boat, built of reeds, with a long pole, through papyrus and lotus bushes growing in the shallow water. Hair and clothing have been arranged for strenuous labor. The large bundle of flowers in the middle of the boat is thought to be lying on the boards; the proportions have been exaggerated quite boldly for ornamental effect, as are the proportions of the flowers still blooming in the water. The peasant girl in her boat going to market with fowl or fruits is one of the favorite subjects of Egyptian art, especially as decoration of small pottery; but our artist has treated the figure in such an original way that it would deserve publication in the interest of the history of Egyptian art alone. Several realistic features will be noticed in the very delicate relief.

For us, the third row is the climax of interest, yet only insignificant remnants of a priceless representation have been preserved—of two figures the part below the knee only! Nevertheless, the trained archæologist has in the remnants of the costume sufficient clues for a certain identification of the people represented.

They are non-Egyptians, Semites from the north, as their woolen garments with fringes show. The first man has a peculiar kind of coat or

skirt, long behind but leaving the knee bare in front. This is its regular shape; if it had been taken up to secure greater liberty of motion, this would be indicated behind by its touching the calf tightly. The garment of the other man has two marks of stripes woven in, another feature quite as un-Egyptian as the fringes. Both persons have long staffs, the sign of men of respect or of age. The first man has placed his staff under his arm to have the right hand free for carrying or showing something (or for a gesture of salutation); the second holds his staff in the right hand; his left hand may have carried something, probably a gift. Extremely characteristic is the anklet of the first man, although the raised part of the ornaments on both sides has been broken off;[1] it forms again quite an un-Egyptian detail. It seems to show a flower ornament at both ends where the *khulkhâl* ("anklet") of the modern Egyptian woman has two balls or polyhedrous ornaments. It is a pity that no remnants of colors have been left, although, with these parts of body and dress, they would not have explained as much as elsewhere.

Now, all these details find their analogies on the Assyro-Babylonian monuments, while it is much more difficult to show such analogies on the Egyptian representations of Syrians of the sixteenth to the twelfth century B. C. On the latter we have merely remote similarities, while our fragments of the third row might just as well have been found at Nineveh. Detach them from the lower rows—of which at least the middle scene shows such an unmistakable Egyptian style—show them to an orientalist of somewhat broader erudition, and make him guess at the provenience! He will mention Nineveh. It is especially the way of representing the details which reminds us so strongly of Mesopotamian art that one feels tempted not only to see Mesopotamians portrayed, but even to assume that a piece of a Mesopotamian relief had been copied by our Egyptian. This impression, however, is probably accidental and due to the various features which (especially in earlier time) Egyptian and Mesopotamian art have in common—only that the very delicate, flat style of relief, which we have here, belongs entirely to Egyptian art. We have to be satisfied with the result that, in all probability, Semites from the north or east of Syria are represented here, a fact which gains considerably in importance by the early date of our monument, viz, between 2700 and 2500 B. C.

It is tantalizing that we can not prove what part those foreigners played on the complete sculpture, if they were merchants bringing the costly goods of the East to Egypt or ambassadors in some political mission. (Warriors are, of course, not meant; the sticks are walking-sticks, not lance-

[1] The break running through the foot makes it look somewhat like a shoe, but this is purely accidental.

shafts.) It is easier to assume the first explanation; it agrees, e. g., with the part of the 37 Asiatics of Beni-Hasan and their probable eye-paint trade and with the tin-importing "Ægeans" previously discussed. The other explanation is, of course, not impossible. The stately dress of the two Asiatics and the princely anklet might be considered to be too pompous for simple traders.

The great find of cuneiform dispatches at Tell Amarna in Middle Egypt in 1888 has shown to the amazed world that the diplomatic and commercial intercourse between Egypt and Babylonia (and even countries more remote) was almost as flourishing 1400 B. C. as, e. g., in the time of the Ptolemies or Romans; and the dominion of the Babylonian language and writing in the diplomatic intercourse of all Western Asia, Egypt included, manifested clearly enough that Babylon was the metropolis of the world's culture much more than Thebes or Memphis. I have, since then, found a passage in a literary work from the beginning of Dynasty 12 (about 2000 B. C.) which speaks of the royal messenger carrying "tiles" to and from Asia, i. e., cuneiform dispatches like those of 1450 B. C.; consequently in Babylonian language and script.[1] This may not have been much different 3000 B. C., and some confirmation of the far-reaching influence of Mesopotamian civilization seems, therefore, to be furnished by these fragments.

[1] *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, IV, 1901, p. 8. I may also refer here to the strange "syllabic orthography" employed by the Egyptians for foreign words and names. To the scholar acquainted with Assyriology and with the Amarna tablets and their international Babylonian style, it is plain that the "syllabic orthography" of the Egyptians, 1600 B. C., was nothing but a free imitation almost a caricature, of the international cuneiform system. Yet the beginnings of that orthography can be traced to Dynasty 5, an age which many believed to exclude such a close intercourse between Egypt and Babylon. Although the question of those beginnings of the syllabic orthography is difficult, complicated, and not clear in every point, yet Babylonian influence in Egypt, 2500 B. C., is not more wonderful than 1500 and 2000, even in Egyptian writing.

THE TOMB OF SEN-MUT IN WESTERN THEBES AND THE EARLIEST REPRESENTATION OF ÆGEAN AMBASSADORS.

(PLATES 3 TO 7.)

This tomb (No. 110 of Wilkinson-Bædeker; on a stone in it the number 8 has been painted, evidently referring to a recent governmental survey) is situated directly under the highest ridge of the mountain of Shêkh 'Abd-el-Gurna, at the northern end of the side facing the Nile, where the mountain turns to face the valley of Dêr-el-Bahri, just under the dilapidated mausoleum of the great local Mohammedan saint whose name the locality bears. It is a beautiful spot, at which I have often rested, enjoying the grand view, the wide Nile, the colossi of Memnon standing drearily in the midst of the summer inundation which reached to their toes, then across the river Luxor with its white buildings, etc.

The owner of that tomb, on the most picturesque spot of the whole Theban necropolis, must have been specially powerful. As shown by the inscriptions, he was indeed the most powerful man of his age, Sen-mût, the official who, under the reign of the queen Hat-shepsouet, Hat-shepsut (erroneously still called "Hatasu" by many writers), seems to have been next in power only to that queen, a personage parallel to Joseph as described in the Bible. Although of humble parentage, he rose gradually to the most important positions. That of the "chief of the granaries of Amon" must have given him great influence in the financial administration and must have formed the stepping-stone for higher functions enumerated on his statues, above all that of chief royal architect. He boasts, e. g., of having erected the two huge obelisks of his queen at Karnak. The great favor in which he was held by his august mistress was demonstrated most clearly by his receiving the title of tutor of the young princess Nefru-rê, and this dignity is duly emphasized by him. (Compare his squatting statues, on which he holds that very youthful member of the royal family in his lap.) See on his life, works and functions, Petrie, *History of Egypt*, 2d ed., II, 88, where, however, no mention is made of his tomb. In general, that tomb has been noticed very little by Egyptologists, not because of its insignificance, but because the systematic destruction of the name Sen-mût, throughout the whole tomb, has left its owner recognizable only once (plate 4, *c*).[1] This persecution of the name betrays that the mighty man fell completely from his lofty position and that the ruler of Egypt wished to destroy even the

[1] It was always accessible (see below on Prisse's extracts). Steindorff, who had published remarks on the same scene (*vide infra*), claimed (Bædeker, Egypt, 4th edition, 286) that the tomb was "rediscovered by Steindorff and Newberry," a remark withdrawn in the subsequent editions.

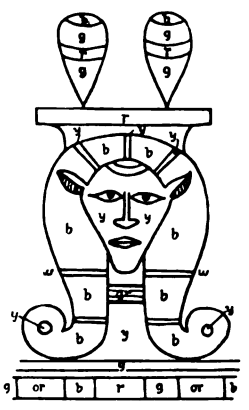
memory of the hated personage. We must guess at a connection of this downfall with the change of government at the death of his gracious patroness, when the new ruler, Thutmosis III, gave vent to his long-suppressed hatred against the woman who had kept him away from the throne (at least from an active part in the government) for so many long years. We can not say whether this revolution found Hat-shepsut's chief favorite alive and whether his cruel execution preceded the destruction of his tomb which he had, most likely, prepared during his lifetime, or whether he had preceded his patroness, descending to the quiet realm of Osiris, so that his enemies could rage only against his monuments, at the most against his mummy. It is impossible to say whether the mutilated backbone of a mummy and the rag of mummy-cloth, which I picked out of the rubbish inside, belonged to our hero or to a later usurper of his tomb, although our sentimental fancy would, certainly, prefer the first hypothesis.

Before its destruction the tomb must have equaled the finest sepulchers of the Theban necropolis in size and beauty. It had even a chapel above, on the highest point of the mountain, at the side of the present monument of the pious Shêkh 'Abd, on which spot a mutilated reproduction of the famous big statue (now in the museum of Berlin) still stands. It is marvelous that, notwithstanding its poor preservation and great weight, it has not been removed by legitimate or illegitimate antiquity hunters. The tomb below has a broad anteroom or funerary chapel with a row of columns, then a gallery of windows; inside one rather long chamber. The walls of the latter have been destroyed and have lost all paintings, except several small, sculptured panels on the wall with the name and titles, of course largely erased. I can not quite imagine how these artless panels once formed a part of the evidently magnificent decoration of the walls. I suppose their employment still awaits some explanation.

The walls and ceiling of the hypæthral anteroom or chapel are decorated in the most beautiful way—rivaling some painted sculptures of Dêr-el-Bahri or of the finest royal tombs. The charming ornaments of the ceiling have been copied very well by Prisse d'Avennes (*Histoire de l'Art*, Atlas, pl. 29).[1] The motive of a red meander on orange ground, alternating with a rosette (red; the ground inside of the rosette bluish) surrounded by four red segments, is varied; e. g., elsewhere the rosette has a blue ring inside, the ground inside is red and white, the center blue. The seam ornament is a zigzag (water) line. The whole of these ornaments, unquestionably, shows textile models like most similar Egyptian decorations of ceilings; only here we must assume the most manifest influence of Mycenæan (Ægean) art. The best example of this influence is the famous ornament of the same ceilings,

[1] Text, p. 366: "Tous trois (i. e., the ornaments) tirés d'un même tombeau qui paraît appartenir à la 17e dynastie."

which so many scholars have justly compared with the frieze of Orchomenos—a combination of double spirals (white and red on yellow ground) and flowers (rosettes, blue on red, or red with blue ring; compare above similar motives). I can not enter on a full discussion of the various opinions on the comparative question; however, the alternative "borrowed from Greece or from Egypt?" can now be settled definitely and easily in favor of the Ægean originality, if we consider the Ægean ambassadors represented in our tomb, a picture confirming the intercourse between Egypt and the countries of the Mycenæan culture, in agreement with three similar pictures (see below) and more than one archæological indication. The shrewd artists, evidently, cleverly alluded to that embassy from the most remote countries, an embassy which clearly formed the highest pride of our Sen-mût (or at least, his sovereign), by using largely quite un-Egyptian motives of the Mycenæan art. Let us hope that this tactful and clever flattery found its well-deserved reward in an ample "pourboire," or directly by an extra number of jars of beer to wash the dust from the work down the thirsty throats of the excellent artists. They deserve also our gratitude.

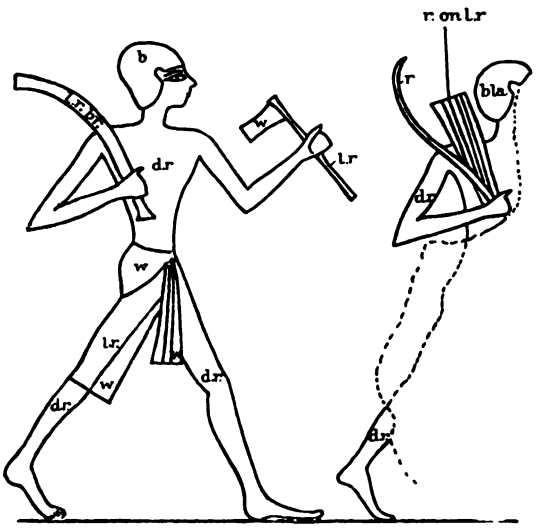


The front wall of our tomb bears a painted frieze consisting of a very old sacred ornament of purely Egyptian origin—a row of heads of the goddess *Hat-hor*, the divinity of heaven, and, at the same time, of love and pleasure, the Egyptian counterpart of the Asiatic Astarte. Perhaps the welcome offered to the soul of Sen-mût by the Mistress of Heaven is symbolized here; more probably, only the artistic effect of this symbol was considered. Indeed, strange as the combination of colors may seem to the reader after the reproduction of a specimen; on the snow-white wall and in the glaring sun of Egypt the effect is most quaint and beautiful.[1] Likewise, the representations below are charming in their bold, somewhat sketchy, outlines and their tasteful colors; the same is true of the painted hieroglyphics. The front wall must have borne three or four rows representing foreign embassies doing homage to the ruler of Egypt; only the uppermost, that of the Ægeans, has been preserved in scanty remnants. North of the door on the wall to the right hand (from the spectator) running soldiers were drawn (the royal body-guard accompanying those ambassadors or an allusion to the troops commanded by our versatile official?). The weapons of the only one preserved completely are still those of the old Egyptian warriors—a big, curved throwing-stick of rather light wood (compare the color) and a small ax (the blade in the shape of the time after 1600 B. C.; the white color is also elsewhere strangely given to the light bronze). That

[1] Compare the similar ornament (more elaborate), Prisse, *Hist. de l'Art*, I, 13.

the other man carries his arrows simply in his hand, not in the quiver (introduced into Egypt by Asiatic troops about 2000 B. C.), is strange and might be taken for an archaistic tendency of the artist.

I have thought it best to make my description rather exhaustive by collecting all the fragmentary inscriptions on plates 3 and 4, though they can not furnish much for Egyptian philology. What remains of titles ("superintendent of the granaries of Amon; superintendent of the household [or estate] and prince; superintendent of all royal constructions") is rather brief, compared with the more grandiloquent tone of the famous statue.[1] The religious texts would not be without interest, if more completely preserved.[2] The curse pronounced against all violators of the tomb is pathetic,



when compared with the reckless destruction which it could not prevent. (Plate 4, *a:* "Regarding every person who may do harm to my image . . . not may he find rest in his [life]-time, not may he find burial in the mountain of the necropolis, not may he have any [further] life on earth.") It sounds as though the almighty favorite of the "mistress of both countries" had foreboded too well the coming persecution of his memory; an old courtier ought, indeed, to have known that he was constantly walking along a chasm.

[1] The inscription before the sacrificial table gives him a title which once marked the successor to the throne (*rp'*), but we know that this title later became quite meaningless, and its depreciation may have begun at that time. The history of this title has not yet been written. (Compare "your excellency," which in some European countries is now perfectly meaningless.)

[2] An interesting paleographical detail is the form of the sign *nfr*, plate 4, *b* (white and red), which reveals unusually plainly for that age the origin of that queer hieroglyph. Griffith, Hieroglyphics (Arch. Survey, 1898), p. 65, has already touched the correct explanation, viz, heart and windpipe, connected according to a very primitive anatomical theory (preserved also, according to Griffith, correctly by Horapollo, 2, 4, while the scribes of a rather early age began to confound it with the picture of a lute and gave it two pegs; of course, Hebrew *nebel* ("harp") has nothing to do with it). The origin of that picture lies in the word *nfy* ("windpipe"), from the root *nfy* ("to blow, to breathe"). The use for *nfr* ("good") presupposes the well-known confusion of *r* and *y* which we find as well in earliest as in latest Egyptian (exactly as the sign for "eye," *yy*, *yyt*, serves regularly as sign for *'r*, *yr*, etc.).

THE ÆGEAN AMBASSADORS (PLATES 5. 6. 7).

The great importance of this representation made it a special object of my plans. For long years it had been a mystery to me why nobody thought of saving these precious relics from complete destruction. Therefore I took a colored drawing, photographs in two sizes, and a tracing. With remorse and sadness I saw particles of color crumble away (several from the sword) under my tracing paper; but better to save thus something. One of the mischievous brown boys of the village below might destroy that "idolatrous abomination" by a couple of blows; or the vandalic attempts to cut out parts of the painting, which once were given up because the underlying stone proved too difficult, might be resumed by some tourist who wishes a cheap souvenir, or by a native in the interest of the nefarious antiquity dealers of Luxor. Therefore it is high time to rescue these pictures from the destruction which constantly threatens them.

The inscriptions accompanying the scene are gone, but we know, at least, what the pictures represent[1]. There are all together three larger representations of this kind in the Theban necropolis (ours being included; compare above, p. 14); a fourth, found at Tell Amarna, has recently been published in the Archeological Survey of Egypt, vol. 14. We know thus that the representatives of the Mycenæan culture bore in ancient Egypt a name, written *Kftyu* in the archaic, *K(e)-f-ti-u* in the later (syllabic) orthography, and in all probability to be pronounced *Keftô*. While the oft-supposed connection of this name with that of the Biblical Caphtôr (once in later Egyptian *Kptar*) must appear very probable, it is nevertheless at present only a hypothesis to identify both names and to locate Kefto-Caphtor in Crete.[2] There is, on the other hand, no doubt that this localization is at least approximately correct, as Mycenæan art had its most flourishing center in Crete and the Peloponnese—more, perhaps, in the large island. The Egyptians, evidently, included all countries of the Mycenæan culture under one name, without distinguishing the subdivisions of what may have formed at that time the kingdom of Minos and his successors, the earliest "thalassocracy" of the kings of Gnossos.

Our representation must have been in not much better condition when Prisse d'Avennes extracted copies of the three best-preserved vessels, probably by tracing. (Compare his atlas, *Histoire de l'Art Egyptienne*, II, pl. 7, No. 2, etc.) I must testify to the accuracy of this admirable man, against whose drawings I have been in former years prejudiced, partly in favor of less reliable publications, partly because his specimens of Egyptian art seemed to be falsified by beautification, an error which can, I hope, be

[1] There is a temptation to find the mutilated name of a foreign country in the fragmentary lines over the soldiers (plate 4, below), but this is extremely problematic.

[2] The latest synopsis of this question has been given, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, vol. IX, 1904, 126 (fasc. 2, 14).

pardoned to a man who had not yet had the chance to convince himself of the best achievements of Egyptian art directly in Egypt. Prisse has, no doubt, only restored the mutilated parts of those vessels.[1] We must give him credit also for the sagacious identification of those pictures with the parallel representations of the Theban necropolis.[2]

The value of our pictures for the earliest history of Greece and Grecian art can not be overestimated. They are inferior to those of the vizir Rekh-ma-rê', it is true, in one particular. The latter paintings, which exhibit the Egyptian observation of details in the most characteristic way, have preserved a highly interesting feature. They show the numerous artificial curls in the flowing hair of the Ægeans (compare Homer's "long-haired Achæans"), produced, as we know from Greek traditions, not only by curling but also by wire spirals, etc, worn in the hair. It would seem that our artist overlooked all peculiarities of hair-dress (the long tresses or plaits, etc.) with his Ægeans, though the heads have been much damaged.[3] It can not be questioned, on the other hand, that he expressed the racial type just as well as the scrupulous artist of Rekh-ma-rê'. The one face preserved completely shows how the European type of face impressed the Egyptians, namely, as rather flat, with very small chin and little-protruding, long, and very slightly aquiline nose. (N. B., thus also Rekh-ma-rê' regularly!) The color of the skin is here a red, about as dark as that of the regular Egyptians on the monuments (slightly lighter in the tomb of the vizir). This hue may be considered as about correct, for the Cretan and Peloponnesian sailors of that time, whose only garment was an apron, must have been sunburned and weatherbeaten, so as to look almost as swarthy as Egyptian peasants.[4]

The most characteristic part of the dress—the peculiar, high, boot-like, white shoes with toes turned up—have been destroyed. The short aprons or loin-cloths of the Ægeans are, however, reproduced in such an admirable and characteristic way that we can not doubt our artist had not only seen such Ægean things himself, but had imported Ægean textile fabrics

[1] On the colored plates I likewise have restored as much as I could safely do. The photograph will show to what extent this liberty has been taken and will render it harmless.

[2] Text, p. 432 (where, unfortunately, the fact that the provenience differed from that of the Keftô vessels of Rekh-ma-rê' was not indicated). He very unjustly doubts, however, the authenticity. The vases with bucrania, etc, "appartiennent bien aux habiles céramistes Egyptiens." Since Prisse's time we have had only one brief occasional remark on the tomb and its Ægean ambassadors by Steindorff (*Jahrbuch des Archæol. Instit.*, 1892, 14). Carter told me that he had made a colored drawing of our scene for Steindorff, of which the latter does not seem to have made use. [In the meantime, a note by Hall on the pictures of Ægeans in Sen-mût's tomb has appeared, *Annals of the British School at Athens*, x, 154, and a photograph of a part of the representations.]

[3] The last man's head is unequally black, inside, on the lower part, and looks as though curls had been indicated. This impression may, however, be due to accidental later effacing. I found it impossible to reproduce it exactly.

[4] Therefore, anthropologists need not speculate too much about the red-skins from Greek soil. Less significant is the fact that the Cretan wall paintings of that time use the same saturated red for their Cretan countrymen. This *might have been* an influence of Egyptian art.

as his models for these pictures.[1] Still more evident is the use of models with the works of art representing here the renowned skill of the Mycenæan metal-workers; not, as Prisse thought, the keramic art of earliest Greece. The wonderful exactness, e. g., of the strange handles of the two enormous silver-cups (perfectly identical with those, e. g., of the famous Vaphio-cups), of the ornament combining a cow's head and a rosette (compare the large silver head of Mycenæ), etc., testify that the artist really copied originals (possibly in the possession of his rich patron, or specimens in the royal treasure-house). We can blindly rely on the accuracy of those vessels for which we have not yet found parallels on Grecian soil, e. g., on that of the last large vase (a "crater" in Greek terminology), with a rope (?) pattern[2] on the handle and on the division between the gold (i. e., gilt?) and silver part, or on the interesting first vessel, of similar form, but hammered from copper and ornamented with lines of gold (marking the divisions between the flutes, inlaid in the furrows?).[3] Before this vessel a long copper sword is carried; the groove was inlaid with gold, a new and very interesting detail. I repeat, in face of all these wonderful details, it is very surprising to see the hair of the Ægeans treated in the conventional Egyptian way, as though our artist had lacked only living models.

Our pictures are (aside from our plate 1) the earliest direct testimony of intercourse with the Ægean countries, for they evidently antedate the twenty-second year of king Thutmosis III, and are thus at least ten to twenty years earlier than the pictures of the vizir Rekh-ma-rê' who flourished under the ruler named above. Queen Hat-sheps·out seems to have reigned some thirty years. The preparation of Sen-mût's tomb must fall in the second half of this reign. The date, 1500 B. C., marking the middle of Hat-sheps·out's rule may, therefore, serve as a basis for the chronology of Mycenæan art which has its first stepping-stones in our pictures and the next fixed point in the analogous representations of Rekh-ma-rê' (2 to 4 decennia later), which seem to have furnished models to various Theban artists.[4]

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[1] The strange detail of the loin-cloth, worn by the last man, returns in Mycenæan art. I do not understand it completely.

[2] I have used the term "rope-pattern" with some reserve, knowing well that this term is usually applied to different ornaments. It seems, however, plain that the ornament on the handle wishes to imitate plaited ropes. I hesitate to identify it with the "herring-bone ornament."

[3] Only the size of the precious vessels has, evidently, been exaggerated by the loyal fancy of our artist. With all due respect for the Mycenæan artists and the wealth of their royal patrons, the size of the silver crater with the cow's-head ornament is decidedly too enormous to be authentic.

[4] I take this opportunity to state that a reexamination of the pictures in the tomb of *Nei-sem* (thus the name is written in the only place not mutilated) which I had published, *Mitteilungen der vorder. asiatischen Gesellschaft*, ix. 1904, has reduced the Ægean influence to the motives of the works of the goldsmith's art. Two of the figures, which, as I had said, might be taken for bad representations of Ægeans, have shown, on closer examination in 1904, traces of the Phœnician full beard. All Ægeans are, we know, clean-shaven, as they are also in Sen-mût's picture. Compare p. 7.

THE ASIATICS FROM THE TOMB OF ANN'A.

(PLATES 8 TO 11.)

This beautiful tomb of a high official of Dynasty 18, in the Theban necropolis (mount of *Shêkh 'Abd-el-Gurna*), No. 36 of Bædeker[1] ("*Enne*") was visited by many earlier Egyptologists, but only a few small texts were extracted by them, e. g., repeatedly the inscription enumerating the trees of the garden of the defunct.[2] According to Bouriant (*Recueil de Travaux*, 12, 105) this was because the tomb was three-fourths filled with sand and rubbish, until (about 1891) the architect H. Boussac was charged to clean it out by the French mission at Cairo. Mr. Boussac unearthed some very interesting scenes and inscriptions, but it would have been better if he had left the tomb sanded for future excavators; for it has, since that time, remained open to everybody, without any protection, and has suffered in consequence. For example, the very important great stela describing the life of the defunct (Bouriant, l. l.), which I had so eagerly wished to compare with Bouriant's edition printed with types, has now disappeared except a few worthless fragments. It is true, Boussac gave a complete, very sumptuous edition of the whole tomb in colors (*Mémoires de la Mission Française au Caire*, tome 18, livraison 1896), but this edition has hardly more value than for showing what has been destroyed since 1891. It is the work of a non-Egyptologist, not without merit as a work of art, but after all merely a colored *sketch*, which does not even attempt to reproduce the details or to give the colors correctly. I have tried to save for science, by sketching, tracing, and photographing the part which is of special value to the anthropologist, viz, the representations of the foreign nations bringing tribute to Egypt (Boussac, "portique, mur du fond, coté sud"—the book has no numbers of plates), and give here, as a sample, the fourth row (the second from below), containing the Syrians, the part most interesting for my special researches.

The first man represented is a servant, leading a small bear, evidently from Mount Lebanon. The animal is not as well rendered as on the perfectly analogous representation in the tomb of the vizir Rekh-ma-rê', but the most characteristic part, the head, has been destroyed. Strange is the color—a bluish gray, or rather light slate-blue. Has the artist used it after mere

[1] A stone in the tomb gives it the number 54. Compare above, p. 12, on the recent renumbering of the tombs. *Anna* is the usual transliteration of the name. Properly *'A-ne-n-'a* ought to be read, but we can not rely much on this orthography.

[2] Brugsch, *Recueil de Monuments*, 36.

descriptions of the rare animal?[1] The apron of the servant has an interesting form, rare among Asiatics, but reminding us of the archaic Egyptian loin-cloth called *shendoyt*, *shensoyt*. The scanty costume of the second man is similar; the vase which he carries seems to be of gold—a great pity for the history of art that it has disappeared almost entirely, as well as another vessel, borne on the other shoulder (according to the indication given by the right elbow). The third person might be male or female, because the long, shirt-like garment was common to Syrians of both sexes. Boussac's sketch would point more to the first alternative (compare also the absence of tucks) and would indicate something carried on the right shoulder, looking like a staff. In Boussac's sketch I should suspect a remnant of another big vase in this object. The vessel borne in the left hand seems to have been very similar to a Mycenæan "Buegelkanne," such as the Ægean ambassadors of Sen-mût (see our plates 6 and 7) and Rekh-ma-rê' exhibit (compare also Boussac).

Four women continue the procession—not free women, but fair slaves for Pharaoh, as their children show—only the first (who has no child) might be intended to represent an Asiatic princess for the harem of the king of Egypt. All four have, however, the costume of Syrian ladies of the better class—long robes of white cloth (i. e., evidently, of linen), tucked liberally to show the wealth of the bearer in the waste of cloth, the tucks and the seams ornamented with simple blue and red embroidery or a few fringes. This incongruity between the position of such Syrian beauties sent to Egypt and between their costumes is frequent; perhaps such women really dressed above their social position to increase their charms, like some modern Circassian slave girls. The richly clad child with the third woman would then not be the child of his leader, but some young nobleman sent to Egypt as hostage. However, we will consider our painting not as an historical picture, but as a mere representation of Asiatic types.

It is the representation of the Asiatic women which gives special interest to our pictures. Representations of Syrian women are comparatively rare; here we have four of them. Not every detail of their costumes is, however, clear to me. Is the white (i. e., linen) bag in which the children are carried on the mother's back a part of the clothing? I suspect it is. The first woman has indications of a piece of cloth (like a plain seam) running over the right arm and shoulder; likewise the following person, who seems to

[1] The bear in the tomb of Rekh-ma-rê' (very well drawn) is reddish brown. The zoological garden of London had a specimen of the bear from Lebanon, when I was there in 1898. The color was, I believe, more gray than brown. The strange color of the painting can be explained as an attempt to reproduce gray. Black and blue were for the ancient Egyptians different shades of one and the same color, exactly as the usage of modern Arabic and of a number of African languages treats these colors. Hence we find sometimes the hieroglyphs for water, sky, etc., painted black, and black objects painted blue. Paintings, e. g., in the tomb of the vizir Rekh-ma-rê' represent negroes with what earlier Egyptologists called "blue skull caps." The artists meant, of course, a shade of black for the hair which would differ from the black of the face. We may, therefore, suppose that the bear was described to our artist as gray, i. e., light black. Hence the blue, analogous to the usual color for iron.

support the right arm by it; notice there the embroidered seam. It would appear that this is the same piece which, unwrapped and held up (by a string or by its own end)[1] serves as a carrying-bag for the baby; but is it then a loose end of the shirt-like dress?

Color and what would seem to be fringes seem to show that the second and third women wear a headcloth—a unique detail for Syrian women of that period, if we may rely on the artist, who in such things is hardly sufficiently scrupulous. (Often the Theban painter does not think it worth while to wash out a color from his brush, and rather uses it up for an object which ought to have a different color.) The silver ear-ring of No. 2 is an interesting detail. The babies (one carried on the shoulder in the way still most common in modern Egypt) are stark-naked, as is the rule both with Syrian and Egyptian children in such representations. Only one wears a princely costume—a long shirt (the Hebrew *kuttoneth*) with characteristically embroidered seams. The tress on the crown of children, which other paintings exhibit (somewhat similar to the ancient Egyptian characteristic of children), has not been observed by our artist.

The facial type of the two women whose heads are less damaged is not very characteristic for their Semitic race, but seems to confirm the high esteem which the Egyptians seem to have had for the charms of Syrian women. They intend evidently to represent beauties, and we may well assume that the Syrian maidens with their whiter skin and more Caucasian features stood, 1500 B. C., in as pleasant a contrast to the swarthy and coarse faces of the pure Egyptians as they do at present.

The photograph shows that the representation still has the red lines of the canon of art. My tracing has not maintained that aid for the draftsman. Among things entirely overlooked by Boussac I mention the very interesting decoration of the ceiling; meanders and rosettes, somewhat reminiscent of Sen-mût's decoration (p. 13) but free from the characteristic scroll.[2] In general, the whole tomb is of first-class importance for the history of Egyptian art; I doubt if the peculiar charm of its colors can be rendered in any reproduction.[3]

[1] Also sometimes by a ribbon laid over the forehead of the mother, it seems. I confess that I observed this detail on the head of the third woman only on the photograph; drawing and tracing the scene, I seem to have considered the white line over the head as accidental. Such ribbons are depicted only on negro mothers in similar representations.

[2] The interesting funeral scenes have been rendered comparatively well by Boussac ("Coupe longitudinale").

[3] It would have caused unnecessary expense to reproduce every shade of color on plates 8 and 9. I supplement this by a few descriptive words:

Plate 8. The first man has almost the same carmine red as the women on plate 9; the second person has a fine, bright, coppery red; the hue of the third is intermediate between both.

Plate 9. The flesh of the women Nos. 2, 3 and 4, is on the original quite pink; that of the child of No. 2 is a shade darker than his mother, likewise women Nos. 3 and 4, but the back part of the head of 3 (after the break——or ribbon? cp. p. 20, note) is of the same hue as the flesh of No. 1. The first child of the last woman again a shade more red; the head of No. 4 darker blue than No. 2.

THE WAR OF PSAMMETICHUS I AGAINST ETHIOPIA.

(PLATES 12 AND 13.)

This stela stands in the first court of the temple of Karnak, directly at the entrance of the second pylon on the north side. It has been repaired by the administration of antiquities (unfortunately with an abundance of cement covering up some signs) and placed on a base, but, as far as I know, it never has been published. On the other side of the entrance there are a few poor hieroglyphic inscriptions with the name of Psammetichus, testifying that this king still felt bound to do something for the former center of Egyptian religion and sovereignty. This amounted, however, to but very little, so that the temple, once the most magnificent in Egypt, or even in the whole world, must have been in the initial stages of decay even in those early days. Our stela consists of granite and is 98 to 99 centimeters wide, 168 high at its maximum. It stands at the foot of a colossal statue flanking the narrow entrance and bearing the name of Sethos II.

The top gives the full titles of the king; the broken-off lines below seem to have contained only introductory titles and phrases; for line 3 still speaks only of Pharaoh's favor with the Theban divinities, Amon of Opet (Karnak) and Mont(u). Line 4 begins to speak about the "nine bows" (i. e., barbarians), towards whom His Majesty directed his attention. Very unfortunately the context of line 5 is obscure. The phrase "sycamore trees of the East" is tantalizing to our curiosity. Are the mythological trees of the East meant or the incense "sycamores" on the coast of the Red Sea? Did Psammetichus repeat the oft-attempted experiment of importing those costly trees into Egypt and planting them on the banks of the Nile, or are expeditions meant merely for the sake of the incense, so indispensable for the cult of the Egyptian gods? Line 6 leads us to Nubia, speaking of troops penetrating to "the front-land" (i. e., Nubia) and reaching the country of *Pe(r)-[Nubs ?]*" If the doubtful reading of this last name is correct, we have a rather moderate limit of that expedition, i. e., the end of the Dodecaschœnus of the Greeks at Hierasycaminus (= *Pe(r)-Nubs*) which later, in Ptolemaic and Roman times, repeatedly marked the advanced frontier against Nubia. If we assume that a preliminary expedition is spoken of, or the fixing of a permanent fortified frontier at that important point (beyond which Egyptian armies may, indeed, have penetrated), we obtain sufficient harmony with another monumental reference to those Ethiopian wars, i. e., with the famous soldiers' graffiti at Abu-Simbel. Our inscription furnishes, at least, one very important result—the date of those Greek, Phœnician, and Carian inscriptions discussed so much, especially with reference to Greek epigraphics. Now,

there can hardly be any doubt that the king Psammetichus of the famous inscription on the leg of the colossus before the temple is the first Pharaoh of that name, not the second, whom eminent Greek scholars would cautiously prefer. Thus Greek epigraphics have now a firm basis, likewise the history of the Phœnician alphabet. We have thus also a confirmation of a classical report on hostilities between our king and his rival Tementhes, in which name I have always seen a mutilation of the royal Ethiopian name *Tinwat-Amen* as the hieroglyphic texts write, *Tandamani* as the Assyrian inscriptions render (after the vulgar Egyptian pronunciation).

The rest of the inscription, speaking of victories, captives made, etc., in very obscure language and orthography, does not furnish much information in its present state. Perhaps it would not have contained many more historical data if we had it in complete state. The style of Dynasty 26 imitates that of the earliest monuments in stilted obscurity and vagueness.

There is another monument at Karnak which I am very much inclined to refer to the same events, a small stela in the temple of Ramses III which branches off from the same court of Karnak. The name of the dedicating king is erased and no inscription remains, but the style seems to point to the Saïtic period, and the poor representation of bound captives seems to mean Ethiopians.

deserve much credit. Mariette apparently had made one of his draftsmen take a copy, but distrusted this copy and worked Duemichen's edition in, exactly as he did with other copies of that scholar. This piratical act betrays itself sufficiently in face of the original, especially in all the wild "restorations" copied from Duemichen. A very good copy must have been originally that of de Rougé, but the edition, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, plates 179 to 198, has been considerably disfigured and does not do justice to that careful scholar. Accordingly, it has so far been impossible to obtain a satisfactory text by a collation of those editions, even when the numerous seductive "agreements" of Duemichen and Mariette were taken *bona fide* by the scholars.[1] I had been advised by several leading scholars to procure a final edition of that important text which would prove to be a specially good service to science. My edition rests on a comparison of the original with the reproduction of de Rougé, into which I had entered all variants of Duemichen and Mariette, then on a complete copy taken, at first, independently. The result will, I hope, establish a good basis for the text; only some minutiæ, partly indicated in my marginal notes, may be decided by further examinations.[2] It seemed especially important to me to indicate the strange character of a distinct later part of the inscription, rudely engraved by a very unskilled hand. I have not reached a positive conclusion as to how this phenomenon is to be explained. It will now be seen that those parts, looking like the work of an apprentice, often contain strange forms, disconnected phrases, sometimes even nonsense, and ought to be considered quite specially.[3] Furthermore, it will be found useful to have the masonry of the wall reproduced to a certain extent.

I have joined the uppermost block of line 36 to 41 to the place sagaciously determined by de Rougé,[4] and have given also the block of 65 to 71, which has now disappeared entirely, after the old copies. It has, however,

[1] I suspect de Rougé's manuscript was compared afterwards throughout with the fragments in Lepsius; compare, e. g., the agreement in the reading *km* instead of *stm*, line 76, and see below on the fragment, lines 65 to 71.

[2] Among these one or two letters preserved in the fragments of Lepsius which, I confess, had seemed too unpromising to me.

[3] The most plausible explanation would be this: Those passages had been left free by the sculptor, e g., because he could not there read his prescribed text on papyrus, or because he expected a fellow-worker to do them contemporaneously, after they had been marked on the stone with color. They remained unfinished gaps so long that, when it was thought necessary to fill them, the original text was no more available and the gaps had to be filled out by the temple scribe. Such a procedure would agree very well with the well-known Egyptian superficiality. In some cases the restorations seem good; in other instances they are quite nonsensical.

[4] Already in his time it must have been on the ground. His manuscript betrays considerable study at home, as I have said above. Legrain, *Annales du service des antiquités*, II, 269, mentions it as "found in the clearing," without recognizing it in de Rougé's plates 187-189. It was, however, plainly visible in 1901, lying some distance to the west of the wall. The block from lines 65-71 was evidently copied from Lepsius by de Rougé, as his text shows, although Duemichen's edition would seem to indicate that the stone was still on the wall about 1863.

not seemed advisable to repeat the isolated blocks, which G. Legrain thinks belonged to our inscription, *Annales du service des antiquités*, II, 269, and IV, 2. Neither their place nor even their provenience from our part of that wall can be determined so far. They contain no historical data whatever, fortunately.[1]

For translations of our text, compare the bibliography given in Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, II, 433. A brief sketch of the contents follows:

In the fifth year[2] of king Merneptah, the son of the great Ramses II, Egypt was in a desperate condition. For centuries pirates from Europe and Asia Minor had plundered the coast of Egypt with impunity, as the Egyptians, being very inferior navigators, could not pursue the daring robbers. At the same time, on the western frontier of the Delta, bands of Libyan nomads, who always had inclined to rapacious incursions into the rich regions of Egypt, had become more numerous and audacious than ever, making large tracts of Egypt uninhabitable by their devastations. Finally, a king of the Libyans conceived the bold plan of assembling all Libyan tribes for a conquest of Egypt, and had even invited the cooperation of the pirates, who had then reached the acme of their depredations. They joined the Libyan army gladly, the Italian pirates called Sardinians (*Shardin*) and Etruscans (*Tursha*), the Achæans from the Peloponnesus (thus probably the *Aqaiwasha*, to be explained), the Lycians, and *Shekerusha* (compare the city of Sagalassos ?) of Asia Minor. A formidable army was thus collected and, marching through the desert, boldly attacked the southern end of the Delta, to seize the gigantic city of Memphis. For centuries Egypt had not been in greater danger, and justly the heart of Pharaoh Merneptah trembled at the approach of the hostile army. But the god Ptah of Memphis appeared to him in a dream and cheered him.[3] When the armies met near Heliopolis, the god Ptah's promises of victory were fulfilled. The allies were almost annihilated. The Libyan king escaped with difficulty; about 10,000 of his host remained dead. Their trophies—of the circumcised Libyans the phalli, of the pirates the hands—and rich booty (the description of which is of great ethnographic value, especially for the Libyans) were brought before Merneptah. Endless is the poetical praise of this victory. Needless to speak of the importance of that account for the history of Egypt, Greece, Italy, etc., which has always been recognized since de Rougé first directed the attention of scholars to the contents of our text.

[1] What of them seems to belong to our text has fallen, evidently, from the final part, the hymn on the victory and on the king's power; hence they offer only vague poetical phrases.

[2] After a popular theory, which has, however, been wrecked completely by the discovery of the "Israel stela," he was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This date is furnished by another monument communicated by Maspero, *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, 1881, 118.

[3] This, if I am not mistaken, was transmitted in literature to the days of Herodotus, who, in a confused notice of an impossible king Sethos, threatened by the "king of the Arabs (!) and Assyrians," Sanacharibus, seems to refer to our ruler.

THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB.

FROM HIS TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.

(PLATES 33 TO 39.)

This famous inscription was discovered by G. Ebers, in 1872. The beautiful tomb of the high officer Amen-em-ḥêb, No. 36 of the mountain of Shêkh 'Abd-el-Gurna, had already been visited by Champollion, who quotes it in his *Notices Manuscrites;* but it had later been forgotten and concealed by the inhabitants of that region. It is said that the young men of Gurna fled to hide in it whenever the recruiting commission appeared for leading them away in chains to serve under the glorious red flag of the caliph of Stambul. As G. Ebers told me, he was led to the place, because he had promised a very good *baqsheesh* for being shown a new tomb. Though this wish was not literally fulfilled (as scholars noticed later), yet the *baqsheesh* was well spent, for Ebers found there that finest of all biographic private inscriptions. Strange that the large text, appearing on the most prominent place of the tomb, had been overlooked by the sagacious Champollion. Ebers published a rather hasty copy (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1873, 1); numerous corrections (*ibid.*, 64); L. Stern, another series of corrections, 1875, 174; Ebers gave a final edition (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 30, 391; 31, 439). This was considered so absolutely reliable (Ebers insisted on its finality at every occasion) that Virey (*Mémoires de la Mission Française au Caire*, V, 241) reprinted it without attempting a serious revision. Karl Piehl claims to have taken a copy; after the quotations by Sjöberg (*Sphinx*, I, 18) also that copy hardly went beyond Ebers's text. P. Newberry has traced the inscription, but has not published it; strange that he has communicated, so far, only two very small corrections (one through W. Spiegelberg). No new edition of the whole text has been undertaken since 1873.

Thus it was imperative for me to revise this famous text, which, contrary to the general prejudice in favor of Ebers's copy, seemed to furnish occasion for small corrections. F. W. von Bissing, who had revised it himself and had once communicated a correction, told me, indeed, that the revision would prove quite a surprise. However, I was in no way prepared to be so painfully disappointed. Ebers's copy proved to be mediocre in the parts of good preservation; where defaced and mutilated signs made the decipherment difficult it failed completely; so that the present copy furnishes not only new signs but even whole groups, in line 18 almost a whole new line. It must be remembered that my late teacher copied over thirty years ago, when Egyptology was little developed and the demands on copyists were very moderate. Moreover, I do not wish to forget that I stood on the shoulders

of Ebers in having his copy with me and comparing it with every sign. However, my revision may properly claim to furnish now a text as new as if it had been discovered in 1904.

The inscription occupies the wall at the right side of the door leading into the tomb proper. It has been painted with faint greenish blue on the white plaster of the wall; the hieroglyphics are about 2½ inches high and not of very graceful form. The dividing lines have been drawn with red only. The ruddle-sketch of almost the whole inscription is visible under the blue. These red traces are sometimes a very valuable help for the decipherer; sometimes they are confusing. I have reproduced them only in some interesting cases; a complete reproduction would have made the edition rather illegible, at least in one color.

The contents are: The hero accompanied Pharaoh Thutmosis III (from about 1500 B. C.) on his numerous campaigns in Syria, making booty of captives, etc., at many places, e. g., in the land *Negeb* (i. e., the south of Palestine ?), on the "cypress (?) bank," a mountainous region "west of *Kha-ra-bu*" (i. e., Aleppo, Haleb), whence he brought to the camp a whole herd of captured Asiatic donkeys and a number of weapons, such as battle-axes, partly "inlaid with gold"; at Carchemish on the Euphrates, at Sinzara on the Orontes, before the important fortified city of Qadesh, east of the northern Lebanon, where, later, he was among the storming force; in *Ti-khe-si* (Biblical *Tahash*, counted, in the Bible, among Aramæan nations), etc. His greatest deed was at an elephant hunt by the Egyptian army, at *Niy*, in northern Syria, "when the king hunted 120 (?) elephants because of their tusks." The hero, in defense of the king, "cut off the hand (i. e., trunk) of the leading bull"; before the wounded beast he had to flee "into the water between two rocks." Similar heroism was shown at the second siege of Qadesh, when a mare, sent forth by the enemy (to disturb the stallions of the Egyptians ?), was killed by him. For all these deeds of valor he received several times decorations of gold, bracelets, necklaces, ornaments in the shape of lions and flies, once three pairs of clothes. In high age he was, at a personal audience before the next king (Amenophis II, whose boat-journey at a great feast he had the great honor of directing), nominated to be "real lieutenant" of the royal body-guard, if I understand the last line correctly.[1] The text also furnishes various other historical data, e. g., the exact duration of Thutmosis III's reign (line 36). Some parts of the text are still rather obscure, especially some newly made out portions. The numerous existing translations are now very much antiquated by the new text.[2]

[1] He must have held a much higher position in influence than his title "lieutenant" would make us expect; above all, his beautiful tomb suggests much influence and wealth.

[2] Ebers, l. l.; Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, III, tom. 2, 279; *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1873, 155; Birch, *Records of the Past*, II, 57; Brugsch, *History of Egypt* (German ed.), p. 335; Virey, l. l.

THE LOCAL SEMITIC GOD OF THE BIBLICAL TAHPANHES.

(PLATE 40.)

For the religion of the ancient Semites we have a very curious monument in a stela of the Museum of Cairo. Maspero's catalogue (*Guide du visiteur au musée du Caire*, 1902, p. 250; English edition, p. 345) describes it under No. 438 as follows:

"Limestone, height 0.58 meter; width 0.40 m. Lower Egypt.—Stela of square shape; form of a naos. On the frieze, the solar disk extends its wings; it is repeated above the door. In the interior of the naos, on a platform, is represented, to the right, a god in Asiatic costume, wearing on his head the high Syrian mitre, but holding in his hand the sceptre of Egyptian gods; he stands on a walking lion and receives the offering of a personage who, perched on a very high tabouret, wets a small altar with libations. On the head of the god hangs the sun-disk combined with the growing moon; two other half-moons are figured to the right and left, and above two ears, emblems of the god who hears the prayers of his faithful. No inscription reveals to us the name of the divinity nor the exact date of the monument.—Persian epoch."

So far Maspero. I can add to it that after a communication from the obliging conservator, Mr. G. Daressy, the stone has been found at a highly interesting place, at Tell-Defenneh, on the northeastern frontier of Egypt, a place which is now identified by most scholars, after Petrie (*Tanis*, vol. II, Egypt Exploration Fund, vol. V), with the Biblical *Tahpanhes*, and the *Daphnæ* of the Greeks. If this is correct, then it was the place where the Jews, fleeing before the Babylonian invaders, flocked in such masses that they formed a whole colony and, probably, filled a Jewish quarter (Jerem. 43, 7; 44, 1; 46, 14), evidently at the side of a similarly considerable colony of Phœnicians, Arameans, etc. The place, situated at the entrance to Egypt, on the great caravan road from Syria, gave to a thrifty population of merchants and industrials sufficient opportunities to make a living. Petrie's excavations have revealed principally the fact that this important frontier place had a strong garrison of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Greeks from Cyprus. Our monument seems to point to the peaceful foreign population of Tahpanhes. It is a god of the Semites of that emporium, of Semitic character and yet Egyptianized, as much as it behooves a settler (divine or human) on the Nile, who has to adapt himself to the surroundings, to the ground, and the conditions of life in a foreign country and has to associate with the inhabitants, with its ancient pantheon, as well as with the human aborigines. Hence the Egyptian influences in the cult of this local god who holds in his left hand a purely Egyptian scepter, in his right hand an emblem just as purely Asiatic, called *lagobolon* by the Greeks, *gamlu* by the Mesopotamians, originally the throwing-stick of the great gods, of Marduk as well as of the divine hunter Nimrod.

Therefore our "unknown god" bears, evidently, the character of a god of heaven, a kind of Zeus-Marduk, so that the emblem of the sun-god befitted him.[1] He rules, however, not only over the sun, but also over the moon and all stars. The indication of the starry sky below has Egyptian outlines, but is more Asiatic.

Un-Egyptian seem to have been the columns of the temple at Tahpanhes which, evidently, is copied, at least partially, on our stela, and to which I direct the attention of specialists on the ancient art of Western Asia; un-Egyptian are also the details of the cult which are represented here—the small brazen fire altar, the *masseba* or sacred pillar, which we see here anointed with oil or sacrificial blood by the priest. The officiating person may be a priest, without the usual high tiara of Asiatic priests, or a private person, clad for the special solemn occasion, and holding the sacrificial basket (compare numerous Assyrian sacrificial scenes). I hesitate somewhat in admitting the second possibility, for I doubt if a layman could be represented, e. g., standing on the sacred ark of the temple. (It is not a "tabouret" only, as Maspero thought, but a wooden chest in the form of a naos; see the border visible on the left side, broken off on the right. This chest has its cultic value, too, and may appear here as a source of oracles.) We have to note also the peculiar platform under and before the god. I leave various questions untouched, feeling certain that this unusual representation of a Semitic cult will produce lively discussions in the future.

Maspero may approximately be right, calling the stela a monument of Persian time, provided that we limit this expression to the earliest Persian period. It is safest, however, I think, to make it contemporary with Jeremiah and Hezekiel. Tahpanhes flourished, according to Petrie's finds, during the whole 26th Dynasty (the seventh and sixth century) but seems to have lost its importance after the Persian conquest. I think we ought to hesitate to date our curious monument later than that conquest (525 B. C.), after the style of the sculpture. It lacks any characteristics which archeologists are wont to call "Persian." What is non-Egyptian in it shows pure Assyro-Babylonian style. Hence we have here a small reproduction of one of the local temples cursed by Jeremiah (43, 12).

[1] The artist has mechanically copied also the usual hieroglyphic designation of this symbol, *Behdity* "the one of Apollinopolis-Edfu;" see at the sides of the lower representation of the symbol.

REPRESENTATION OF SEMITIC DIVINITIES IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM.

(PLATE 41.)

It seems appropriate to refer here to a few smaller monuments of the Museum of Cairo representing Semitic divinities. First two small limestone stelæ which will easily be identified in the collection of divine images in the upper story of the museum, as they are the only ones of their kind.

The first stela shows an Egyptian woman adoring a well-known Asiatic goddess, elsewhere called Qadesh (vocalization quite doubtful) by the Egyptians. She is a form of Astarte, the "queen of heavens," as her representation shows; the mistress of heaven, i. e., the constellation Virgo, standing on Leo, holding the pernicious Hydra, figured as a poisonous snake, in one hand; in the other hand a not less pernicious but more enticing symbol, the spica, figured as a fruit or cone on the earlier pictures, then developing into the button of a flower, finally into an open flower, as here.[1] (The treatment of this plant as an ear of grain is not found on earlier Egyptian monuments.) This divinity, introduced, it seems, into Egypt at least 1500 B. C., became very popular with the Egyptians, especially with the women who so much needed the protection of the mistress of love and fecundity. Our stela does not seem very old (as the goddess is strongly Egyptianized), but is probably older than the most recent known representation of Qadesh (from the middle of the seventh century). The sculptor had prepared a space for engraving the name of the fair dedicator, but has not used that space. The senseless signs before the goddess are, probably, intended for "mistress of heaven, mistress of all gods," the usual title of our divinity.

Much older, both after the style of the sculpture and the representation itself, is the second stela (on the right); consequently, it seems to belong to the period before 1000 B. C. The goddess appears here *en face*, exhibiting the charms of her nude body; her long locks have been treated after the model of the Egyptian goddess Ḥat-ḥor. To her left stands her lover, Reshpu, clad as a royal warrior. His representation is much Egyptianized and simplified by omission of various details; his spear has, for lack of space, been ill-treated. To the right of the stela we should expect the mild, unhappy lover of the goddess, Tammuz-Adonis, whom the Egyptians always identified with the ithyphallic god Min of Koptos in this divine trias. The artist had

[1] It will be noticed that in this connection of astronomy and mythology I am following suggestions of Stucken and Winckler. These scholars have not yet noticed our Egyptian representations, which confirm so brilliantly the value of the astronomical element in the interpretation of all ancient mythologies. A somewhat analogous representation is that of the Babylonian goddess Zarpanitu. From the cone shaped fruit the Greeks derived their box of Pandora. The dangerous garment of other versions (the coat of Deianeira, etc.) seems to me not to come from the fruit or flower, but from a misunderstanding of the serpent in the other hand.

figured him roughly on our stela when the dedicator of the stone expressed a wish to be represented herself. Then the sculptor cleverly made out of the figure of Min an adoring lady; the phallus of Min has, however, been left in a very ludicrous way. Only to cover up the traces of the first pesign, it seems, the goddess has received here *two* flowers for her left hand.

The same room of the Museum contains, in the collection of images of divinities, on a very small, blue-glazed plaque, a picture of the god Reshpu, mentioned above. It is of a flat and indistinct design (about half as large again as my drawing) but we can recognize that this god of war and thunder has here the full arsenal of weapons—shield, spear (the quiver, hanging on the back, may have been broken off), the Egyptian combination of battle-ax and club in the right hand. The conical helmet has not yet the shape of the white Egyptian royal crown; the beard, however, has already been conventionalized into the artificial beard attached to the chin of Egyptian gods. The important emblem of the mythological fascia, characterizing the god as occasionally blind (invisible), has been pushed up from the forehead to the helmet; traces of the gazelle on the forehead (see below) are indistinct and doubtful. This little image may belong to the earlier period of the worship of Reshpu-Apollo, probably before 1000 B. C., but much can not be said with certainty.

I think it useful to republish on plate 41 another picture of the same god, sketched with ruddle on a large limestone splinter found in the royal tombs. It was published by Daressy in the Catalogue of the Ostraca of the Museum, under No. 25063. My photograph, being on a larger scale than that publication, shows some important details more clearly, above all the miniature head of a gazelle at the forehead of the god, indicating, probably, that he is thought to be hunting in the desert.[1] Notice the ends of the fascia and the quiver behind. The impression is that of somewhat stronger Egyptianization than in the small plaque 2630, described above. As the sketch in red has been found in royal tombs of the time 1200 to 1100 B. C., the plaque might even be earlier. However, it is difficult to fix the history of such a divine type without very ample material. As the type has spread from Syria to the Mycenæan countries and even to Spain, it deserves exhaustive treatment in the future.[2]

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[1] *Reshpu* is, of course, thought to represent Orion, the wild hunter, *manu lævā tenens clypeum, clavam alterā*, Vitruv., IX, I. For the shield ancient mythology has mostly an irregular piece of skin. It would lead very far to discuss the developments of the spear, the sword, the fascia, etc. I direct the attention of students of mythology towards one detail: Why has the head of a goat-like animal (probably a gazelle), which adorns the forehead of the god, the horns turned forward? It is not accidental but returns on every known picture of Reshpu, except Lanzone, *Dizionario*, plate 191, so that we must question, if this picture is correct in that special detail. There must have been a certain mythological reason for it.

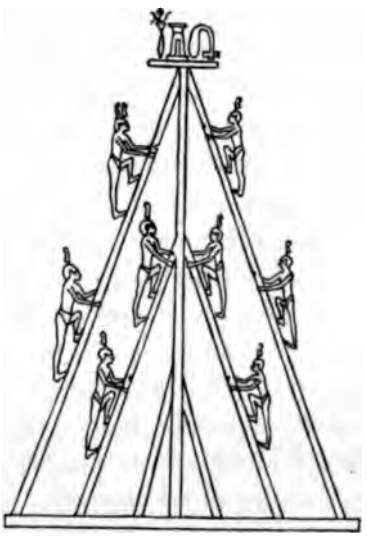
[2] It may be mentioned here that the Metropolitan Museum of New York possesses of all museums the largest and prettiest Egyptian statuette of Reshpu.

THE CEREMONY OF POLE-CLIMBING BY NUBIANS.

(PLATE 42.)

On the girdle wall of Ramses II, in the sanctuary of Karnak, on the south side, facing the sacred lake, I found a picture of interest—the earliest known representation of the curious ceremony of pole-climbing by Nubians.

This rite is represented in temples of various divinities, but always associated with the god Min of Koptos and Chemmis-Panopolis, the patron of the nomadic tribes of the Arabian desert, the Trog(l)odytes. Duemichen (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 160) first spoke of these representations and wished to connect that scene with the games held in honor of "Perseus" of Panopolis, the prizes in which consisted of "cattle, mantles, and skins"



Mariette, *Denderah* I, 23.

(Herodotus, II, 91). These prizes are, indeed, such as suggest the barbarians as competitors in the games. The inscription with the scene, Mariette, *Denderah*, t. I, plate 23, states that the climbing men are "the great chiefs of Nubia (*Knst*) and *Qmt(t)*; those of *Punt* (the Abyssinian incense coast) are creeping near; the Trog(l)odytes of the cataract region with their presents in honor of thy spirit. They fulfil their ceremonies to amuse thy heart." The eight climbers are marked as Nubians by the ostrich-feathers in their hair. Instead of the prosaic prizes mentioned by Herodotus, we see on top of the scaffold the hieroglyphics "riches, dignity (of position)" and "sanctuary" (an ambiguous sign meaning, perhaps, honor in the temple), evidently attempts to idealize the whole scene, i.e., to place the ceremony symbolically in the sphere of morality and piety.

I submit an hypothetical explanation of the strange act. The temples and cities at the end of the great desert roads must have possessed great importance as gathering-places of the wandering tribes who came there to barter the products of the desert for the luxuries of Egypt. Just as the Arabian nomads gathered at Mekka and other sanctuaries, in heathen time, at the great festivals of the temples, not only to fulfil their religious duties but also to do business of every description at the fairs attached to the festivals (especially at '*Ukâz* near Mekka), exactly so the Trog(l)odytes must have used the principal festivals of Min. Probably he became their patron only by such regular gatherings around his temple. The prizes given by the temple (as the symbols, etc., in Denderah indicate) look exactly as if the clever Egyptian priests wished to encourage the gathering of the shepherd tribes, so profitable for the sanctuary and for the surrounding town. No doubt they received those prizes back with good interest. The game may have had some origin among the savages, but can hardly have been a purely national one for them; their northern tribes could hardly have obtained sufficient wood for the scaffold in their treeless deserts. Doubtless at the temples, where the game was held every year, some religious significance was attributed to it, but the later texts (see above) do not indicate anything which would lead us to the original interpretation.

The representation in Karnak is still partly buried in the sand,[1] but we can easily supplement the buried part. Only four poles, on every one a barbarian hanging and climbing quite correctly (not ascending as on a ladder, as the later artist in Denderah has represented it). The four (or more) poles must have been of equal length, starting in a circle and ending at the same center, otherwise it would have been too unequal a contest. The Egyptian artists arranged them strangely for the sake of the perspective, and this arrangement became conventional.

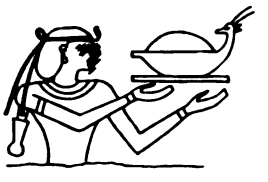
The representation of the ithyphallic god "Min of Koptos, the arm-raiser" and of the little naos behind the god (still buried), on it the symbols: flower of eternity between two sacred trees (signifying the two horizons) offers nothing unusual, nor does the figure of the adoring king, Ramses II.[2] I think, however, for the anthropologist the pictures of the Trog(l)odytes, their facial type, their hair-dress, and their somewhat scanty garments will be of sufficient value to justify the publication of this scene, apart from its value for the history of Egyptian religion. I repeat, it is more than 1000 years older than the other representations.[3]

[1] I cleared the sand away to have the heads of the lower two men on my photograph.

[2] Except, perhaps, in the strange symbol offered to the god, which occurs also on other monuments. It has not yet been investigated by any scholar, so far as I know.

[3] I can not find a publication of the representation of the ceremony in the temple of Edfu mentioned by Duemichen. It is probably still unpublished.

In fugam vacui, I mention here a sculpture, exactly at the side of this religious scene, which is of interest both for the history of Egyptian art and religion. Ramses II offers to the goddess "Mut, the mistress of heaven,"



on a tray a vessel of strange form, ending, on one side, in the neck and head of a gazelle. The left side of the bowl-like vessel has a peculiarity suggesting a snout. After analogous pictures, the upper part indicates a cover of the bowl (not some substance filling it). The same kind of vessel appears there once more, on a table before the goddess, so that it ought to have been a regular vessel of cult, not a foreign curiosity. Similar vessels have always been explained as un-Egyptian, as imported from Syria, where, indeed, the goldsmiths seem to have used the heads of gazelles and ibexes very freely as ornaments.[1] Our sculpture seems to militate strongly against that theory, but it is not possible to investigate here the history of these vessels in Egyptian cult and their meaning.[2]

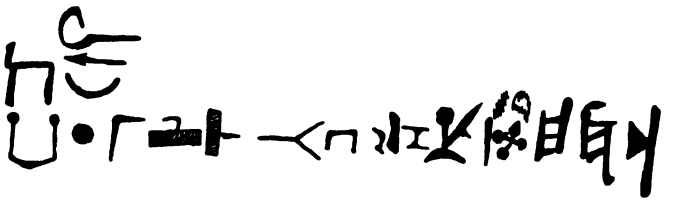
[1] Thus I had (*Asien und Europa*, p. 309) explained the similar vessel (Prisse, *Art*, II, 83) as an Egyptian imitation of a Syrian model. The bowl is slightly different; it has a foot and a boss in the center of the cover. Prisse seems to describe it as belonging to constructions of Ramses III at Karnak. Probably he means the small temple, to the south.—A similar piece without cover, but likewise with foot, Prisse, II, 74, above, right side.

[2] We ought to know also the meaning of the curved object with a gazelle's head which, Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 76, 78, symbolizes (after the inscription) a gift of linen, so that the room of the temple containing those pictures is called the .... room (that object and determinative: clothing, woven material). l. l. 72, c

INSCRIPTION IN UNKNOWN (?) CHARACTERS.

(PLATE 43.)

This enigmatic inscription was found by me in the temple of Karnak, in a passage of the path leading east from the great hall of columns, past the great obelisks, then turning before the room with the annals of Thutmosis III



passing the north half of the chambers of Hat-sheps(o)u(e)t. That passage is at the entrance into the remnants of the temple of Dynasty 12, near the long hieratic inscription published in Mariette, *Karnak*. It must be a very ancient path, dating at least from the time when the temple began to be deserted, owing to neglect by the Ptolemaic kings, and finally, in consequence of the storming and devastation of Thebes by Ptolemy Soter II, if we may draw conclusions from the numerous scribblings indicating that the passage was much frequented. The block of the inscription is covered with scratched-in signs and figures—several crosses of Christian time, crude sketches of ships, etc. The date of the graffito would thus seem to be not very early; one might even be tempted to place it in the same time as those scratchings from Christian time, but it might, after all, date just as well from Ptolemaic or even earlier time, like the hieratic inscription mentioned above, which is close by. All speculations about the age are highly unsafe before the complete decipherment of the little text.

I have given above my first sketch of it, as it impressed me when I found it, not considering my later attempts at deciphering. The squeeze, plate 43, will offer means to the reader to control and correct me and to give vent to his own fancy. To me the little inscription—if it is *really* one—is desperate to a certain extent; it has been declared to be quite hopeless by some prominent scholars, who are even specialists in epigraphics. Copying it, I thought at the first glance it was Phœnician; after a couple of signs it impressed me as offering some derivation of the so-called Sabæan alphabet; but the small, simple signs of the center seemed to differ in character both from the complicated six first signs and from the bolder seven at the end, where the inscription would seem to turn around and to run upwards. This latter part bears the clearest marks of a derivation from the South Arabian alphabet, but is it a part of the other inscription? As I have said,

we might assume two, or even three, different hands, but this impression is quite fallacious, as the most important criterion, the sense of the text, can not yet be ascertained.

The comparison in the study room with known alphabets leads me now towards the northern developments of the "Sabæan" alphabet, the family formed by the so-called Liḥyanic, Safaitic, and Thamudenic scripts. It is especially the latter style (formerly called "Proto-Arabic")[1] which offers the most striking analogies; e. g., at the end we seem to recognize *k* and below *ṭ* (after the Safaitic form); the row following would offer (from below) unmistakably *'Ain* and *r*; the Γ would rather be *z* than an irregular *g*. Problematic guesses might be risked on the surrounding signs; in the center, the sign *n* (the eighth counting from the left) would be characteristic Thamudenic, and with a liberal amount of fancy and good-will we might propose identifications for almost any sign. But I am unable to do so with a clean conscience, at least for the central portion, and could then not guarantee any connected sense, so that it will be better to leave these attempts to specialists (who, as is well known, differ considerably about the reading of that family of alphabets). I may have gone too far in attempting to decipher a text on which, as I have said above, several noted Semitists have declared themselves to be incompetent. If, however, only my determination of the general origin of the graffito can be maintained, as I hope, then we need not worry too much about the contents, which, in all probability, will prove nothing else than that X, son of Y, had an idle time there. The fact that a man from the desert of Northern Arabia scribbled his name on a ruin of Upper Egypt is interesting enough in itself, whether that Arab was a merchant or a mercenary soldier or an adventurer. Perhaps we shall learn something about his native place by a complete decipherment. I hope our text will be made out by the progress of Semitic epigraphics; perhaps, ingenious decipherers will also succeed in using it as a certain chronological stepping-stone for that science.[2]

[1] I adopt Lidzbarski's designation, in which he has been followed by E. Littman, to whose detailed study, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1904, IX (the table of alphabets, pl. 12), I refer.

[2] The text bears, at any rate, the full patina of age and could not be treated as one of the tourist jokes (to which class belong, e. g , four letters in the square Hebrew character scratched on one of the big columns at Karnak).

THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES OF NORTHERN SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III, KARNAK.

(PLATES 44 TO 53.)

This largest of all geographical lists left by the Egyptians is engraved on the left side of the so-called eighth pylon of Karnak, which faces the south side of the large hall of columns. Ten rows of names, which are more or less preserved, are fairly well engraved; they were once painted with bright yellow. The types of bound Semitic prisoners surmounting all the names are rather peculiar; it seems, however, that they served as models to the sculptor of the great list of Shoshenq-Shishak.

The list was excavated by Mariette and a copy given in *Mariette, Karnak*, pls. 20 and 21. Revisions of single names by Golenischeff (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XX, 1882, 145), and by Maspero (*Recueil de Travaux*, 7, 100 foll.), revealed and corrected numerous mistakes of that publication, unfortunately independently from each other. Wishing to reconcile some contradictory readings of the two revisers, I examined the text and found that the inscription furnished a third considerable crop of corrections, so that it seemed most profitable to republish the entire text. Needless to say, I had Mariette's text (and all of the later corrections) when I recopied the list completely; therefore manifest errors can here be corrected silently. Mariette's erroneous numbering has been kept entered below in brackets; above I have given the correct numbering, separating our list from the Palestinian list to which it had been attached. The wall has not suffered very much since Mariette's unearthing, though a few names have, of course, become mutilated within the thirty years.

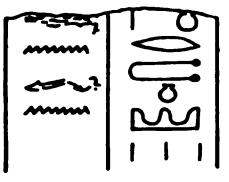
Our list originally contained two hundred and seventy names in ten rows. It claims to give the conquests of the greatest warrior among the Pharaohs, Thutmosis III (about 1500 B. C.), in middle and northern Syria (including northern Mesopotamia). The southernmost city seems to be the *Tunep* (*Dunep*) of the Amarna tablets (No. 26/127, *Tu-ni-pa*) or, because the situation of that city is rather doubtful, Si(n)zar (modern *Shaizar*) on the middle course of the Orontes, (No. 84/173) *Tu-n-sau-ra*, might serve as the point of orientation for the south (compare pp. 29 and 40 on that city). The farthest points in the opposite direction are two places in the Chaboras valley (233/322 and 254/343), so that it would seem as though the Egyptian armies had penetrated at least to the central region of northern Mesopotamia. Numerous among names which can be identified are cities situated directly on the Euphrates on both banks, the famous Carchemish of the Bible, Sura, Er(r)agiza (191/280) *Pe-d-ru*, i. e., the *Pitru* of the Assyrians, the Biblical Pethor, the remote home of the soothsayer Balaam, etc. Several of these names have only now received their correct form, e. g., that of *Pedru* itself and of Carchemish.

The list has never been treated very extensively;[1] I hope soon to discuss it exhaustively. In the meantime I direct especially the attention of Assyriologists to the text. Being transliterated from cuneiform lists (as numerous mistakes betray which can easily be traced back to the polyphony and similar complications of the cuneiform system), the text can throw considerable light on the pronunciation of the difficult wedge-shaped writing of the sixteenth century B. C., although it must be admitted that Pharaoh's experts on the Asiatic writing seem to have been considerably inferior to the native Asiatic scholars (as also the cuneiform Amarna letters show us).

LIST OF AMENOPHIS II.

(PLATES 54 AND 55.)

G. Legrain discovered, during the winter 1902–1903, a small chapel of Amenhotep II, near the great obelisk of Queen Hat-shepsout at Karnak. He announced this discovery (*Annales du service des antiquités*, vol. V, p. 34) and mentioned a list of twenty-four names of Asiatic countries and cities. I found these pieces of the sandstone chapel wall still leaning against the wall of the corridor leading through the center of the temple and studied them repeatedly when the rays of the sun struck them sideways and made the much-defaced and shallow reliefs cognoscible. They certainly deserve a complete publication, even if it were only for the sake of the interesting representation of crowds of Asiatic prisoners driven before the king in fetters, a sculpture which has no complete analogy in Egyptian art.



Over this crowd of bearded captives the god Amon was sitting on his throne; before him traces of the king are visible, addressing the god in two lines, of which only the first is legible, stating the ruler brings here "[the princes] of the *R(e)-ṭ(e)-nu*", i. e., Syrians.

Below the captives we read that this is "the list of those rebellious foreigners [whom] His Majesty slew through their valleys so that they rolled in their blood." Of the twenty-four names, which are in part very difficult to make out, several new ones were deciphered after repeated attempts. Legrain had already read correctly, e. g., 12, *Q(e)d-shu* (Qadesh on the Orontes); 13, *Kha-ra-bu*, i. e., Haleb-Aleppo; 14, *Ni-y* (probably on the lower Orontes); 15, *Ṣa-sa-ra*, i. e., ancient *Sinzar*, modern Shaizar on the Orontes (cf. p. 39). I can now add to these: 16, *Ṭ(e)-n(e)-pu* (the *Tunep* of the Amarna letters, compare p. 39), 18, *Ḥa-ṣa-ra* (i. e., the Biblical Hazor in Galilee) and various problematic names which may be made out with the addition of new material and may prove to be of interest.

[1] Fullest in my *Asien und Europa*, pp. 289–292.

SMALL GEOGRAPHICAL TEXTS, KARNAK.

(PLATE 56.)

(1) The bases of two statues at the entrance of the building of Ramses III, in the first court of the great temple of Karnak. The royal name on them (compare inscription in front of A.) has been recut; was it originally Ramses II? I could not determine the original name and that of the usurper (R. III?) with certainty; a reexamination may decide this question. However, we have here hardly a really historical record; therefore the question of the first author is not as important as it ought to be if the Egyptians had been more scrupulous.

The bound captives on the right side of the first statue seem all to be Africans, as No. 6 (the Libyan *Mashawasha*, usually—not quite convincingly—compared with the Maxyes of the classical writers) indicates. The mutilated other names are somewhat uncommon and not easily identified. The left side contains a series of Asiatic cities; the most plausible restorations would seem to be: [*Qart-'an*]*bu* = Kirjath-eneb ("grape-city") [*Ḥu-ṣa*]*u-ra* = Hazor in Galilæa, [*Ra-pu*]-*ḥu* = Raphia, i. e., names copied mechanically from the inscriptions of Sethos I (see page 44). This alone would not necessitate the assumption that the original name on the statues belonged to that king or to his son and successor Ramses II. Egyptian scribes used to steal material for such boasting inscriptions from any source (v. p. 49). The original name under No. 3 seems to have been different from that which Kirjath-eneb superseded repeatedly in the texts of Sethos I.

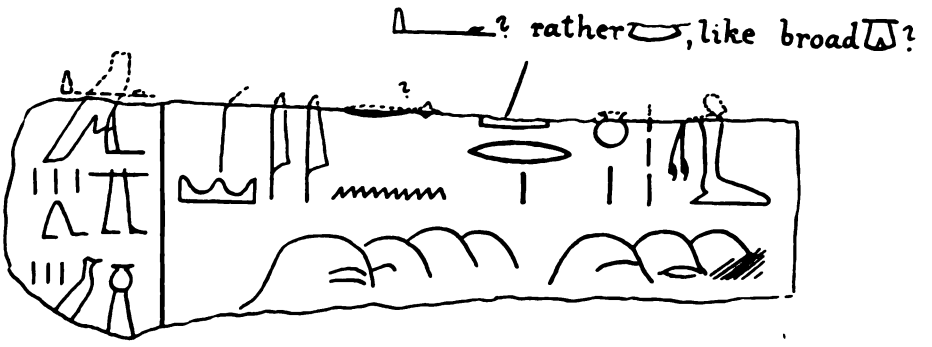
The statue to the left contains African names (e. g., that of the gold-mine region *Akayti*); on the right side two Asiatic names, *Khe-ta* (Hittites) and *Q(e)dshu*.[1] The Nubian name *Arṭu* (or similarly) was, possibly, mixed in by confusion with the Phœnician *Araṭut*, i. e., Arvad.[2] Notice an attempt at characterizing the accompanying figures of captives.

(2) A small list of Asiatic names from the pylon of Pharaoh Ḥarem-ḥeb (the 11th pylon in Bædeker's plan). Those inscriptions and representations were first noticed and incidentally mentioned by U. Bouriant. He was kind enough to send me a copy, from which I extracted the eight names, *Asien und Europa*, p. 293; afterwards his whole communications were printed (*Recueil de Travaux*, 17, 41 to 44; the eight names on p. 42). I am sorry to state that Bouriant, who could copy with admirable sagacity and accuracy, as well as occasionally with the utmost carelessness, has given here an example of the latter ability, e. g., in No. 5. After Bouriant's

[1] Pointing, indeed, again to Ramses II or his father.

[2] Another peculiarity found in texts from the time of those two kings.

copy I had proposed (*Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1) *Un-nu-g*, identifying this with *Unqi* in Northern Syria, on the lake of Antioch. The stone, however, offers a plain *Ru-n-ru*, i. e., the region *Lullu* (earlier *Lullubi*) mentioned in earlier cuneiform literature as situated in the Median mountains and repeatedly referred to also in the Egyptian geographical lists. And No. 8 is not Arvad but *'A-ra-ti-u-g* (v. p. 43 on the proposed identification with the Biblical city of Eltekeh, to which identification this orthography is less favorable than the usual spelling[1]).



(3) I insert here a fragment which is too small to deserve a full place in the plates, but nevertheless seems to furnish a very curious geographical name. It is a block, about three feet long, which I noticed, in 1901, not far from the entrance on the south side of the large temple of Karnak, between the third and fourth pylons, near the copy of the epic on the battle of Qadesh. I concluded that it belonged originally to that wall and to the sculptures of Ramses II describing his Hittite war. In 1904 the piece had been moved quite a distance to the southeast, to the recently constructed dam skirting the holy lake. I hope no confusion will arise from this shifting; the sculpture itself seems to confirm the provenience from the wall near which it had its original place.

The traces of heads seem to point to a group of Hittites, most likely to captives from that nation. The fragmentary words to the left "bringing (or brought) gifts" might suggest ambassadors. However, these words may belong to a different subject. The interesting part are the words over the heads: "(captives, rascals, or similarly) of G(??)-*ra-* '*a-n-y*," furnishing an absolutely new name of a Syrian country or town. The strangeness of this name is increased by the uncertainty about the initial letter. At first sight similar to an 'Ayin, it impressed me later as an irregular g (or q?) or an (irregularly low!) *sha*, but neither of these guesses has much probability, so I must leave it to the ingenuity of my readers to find a better explanation.

[1] The first name may be made out more fully by using a higher ladder and better light. I intended to reexamine it, but found no chance to do so. I reproduce here my tentative copy of this name, but wish the provisional character to be understood.

I am afraid that even the final correct reading will leave the difficult question of identification open. If the name belonged to the Palestinian towns punished by Ramses II, for rebellion during his Hittite war, it will hardly be one of the Biblical names, I fear.[1]

THE PALIMPSEST LISTS OF PALESTINIAN AND PHŒNICIAN CITIES BY SETHOS I AT KARNAK.

(PLATES 57 AND 58.)

In 1893[2] I called the attention of scholars to the fact that an important list of Palestinian cities seemed to be hidden under the published lists from the northern side of the exterior temple wall at Karnak. I tried to make out some names from the faint indications in Lepsius (*Denkmæler*), and expressed a hope that scholars would soon draw the original text from that palimpsest on stone. Unfortunately this hope was not fulfilled, so that I had to take this somewhat difficult task into my own hands.

The two lists occupy the lowest part of the great wall of Sethos I, looking to the north, one on each side of the door.

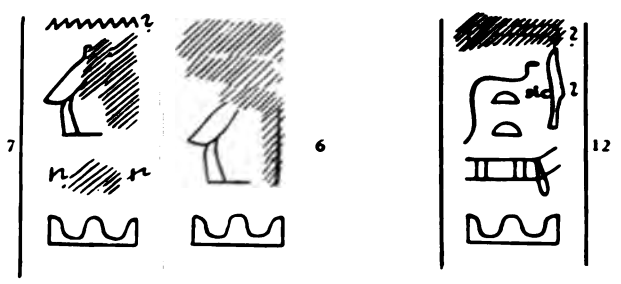
The one to the right (west) forms part of the representation (*Lepsius, Denkmæler*, II, 129 = *Rosellini, Monumenti Storici*, 61 = *Champollion, Monumens*, 289). I do not reproduce here the whole upper part, especially because it has suffered considerably during the last sixty years.[3] Also, the African names running, in the lowest line, from right to left, have been much

[1] I suspect an erroneous transposition of the *y* before the *n*, so that the name ended, originally, in *ayin*.

[2] *Asien und Europa*, p. 193.

[3] At the end of the third row, *Sa-n(e)-ga-r-t* and the strange name *U-n-n-m* (compare p. 46) are preserved; in the fourth series, in *Qdshw*, the *sh* was corrected from original *mn*. After (No. 7) *Bi-ra-nn*, (sic!) the strange (8) *'A-ra-m(!)-[-p(e)-kha]* has been preserved, down to a doubtful, t-like remnant of the *kha*. In 9, *'A-ra-ti-(n)n*, the space before the last letter preserved, the *n*, would point to a very small sign, such as the *nn* of the earlier copies. However, if the text had *'A-ra-ti-nn*, this is not to be compared with the Phœnician city Arvad, as I once assumed, but is to be corrected into a form occurring several times on the monuments, e. g., in Luxor (Ramses II) and Medinet Habu (Ramses III), also Lepsius, III, 131*a*, etc. There it is, constantly, written *'A-ra-ti-gu*, and the well-known confusion of *nn* and *g* in cursive hieratic writing will allow us to discover here about the same form. I believe now that we have in this name nothing else but the Biblical Eltekeh (Joshua 19, 44; 21, 23). The correct pronunciation of the name has been preserved not only in the Assyrian *Altaqû* of Sennacherib, but also in the *Eltheko*, e. g., of Codex Alexandrinus and of the Vulgate. The Egyptian rendering would be a surprising confirmation of their pronunciation. The importance of the city appears from Joshua 21, 23 – the Levitic cities were all considerable places; the priests always settled in the best cities—and from the Assyrian report of a battle there (Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 288), it may have guarded important streets passing near Ekron; that the Bible does not speak more of it is, probably, due to the fact that it belonged to the Philistine king of Ekron whenever he had any power. It may also not have had the same importance after 1000 B. C. More strange is, indeed, the absence of the name in the Amarna letters. The first Pharaoh mentioning it is Har-em-heb (compare p. 42), but he seems to copy earlier lists. (His spelling, with the u before the g, the constancy of the use of g for q, and the occasional grouping with more northern cities might be used as objections to the above identification, but none of these objections is decisive, I think.)

damaged. Nos. 1 (beginning ʿ} p . . .) to 5 have now become entirely illegible, but 6 and 7 still show signs not read by Lepsius, so that we may sadly conclude to have lost considerable chances of corrections with those destroyed names. I reproduce here also the last one (12).



The list on the other (east left) side of the door forms the lower part of a text published *Rosellini* 60 = *Champollion* 194. What has been preserved of the fifth row reads now: ʿ(*A*)*sy* (Cyprus), *Mn-nu-s*, ʿ*A-qu* . . ., *Bi-ra-* . . , ʿ(behind destroyed, like = at the left side; read "man with hand at mouth"?) ʿ*A-ra-ti-·u* (with the same space pointing to a very small, low sign like *nu* or *g*, as discussed above), *Sha-s*(*u*). (The rest are Africans, also the whole sixth row (beginning }*mms*, (*Mn*)*s*ʿ*w*——the *w* crossed by an erased *d*), . . *mh*, . . . , . . . *w*; ending in . . . *tm* —— this sign preceded by feet of *w*?)

The half-erased list of Palestinian and Phœnician names, which formed the real object of my study, has not confirmed the results which, at my former attempts at reading, I believed to have obtained. The early Egyptologists, or their draftsmen, were so puzzled by the palimpsestic nature of the text that they mixed the two or three hands and produced seductive impossibilities. Thus very different results were gained from the original.

Right side: (6) Accho, *Qa-ma-*(*u?*)*-d* (i. e., *Gumidi* of the Amarna tablets; probably = the Biblical Gammadim of Ezekiel 27, 11), Ullaza, (p. 45). *Oṭu* (Palætyre?), Beth-ʿAnath, . . . *r*, (13) *Qa-ra* . . *m* (read *Qamahem?*) (14) *Qart-ʿanbu* (= Kirjath-eneb in Palestine), *Ḥuṣaura* = Hazor in Galilee, (16) *Ra-pu-ḥu*, i. e., Raphia south of Gaza. The latter name is very interesting because this important city had, so far, been found only once in Egyptian texts.[1] The rendering of the vowels of the name (which the Assyrians transcribed *Rapiḥi*; an *i* is exhibited also in the Talmudic rendering) is not very creditable to the ear of the Egyptian scribe. Interesting also is No. 13, which I have not yet read completely and identified.

[1] The appearance of the name in this list confirms that "the city of Canaan," as far as which elsewhere Sethos I claims to have chased the predatory desert tribes, was nothing else but the first settlement of agricultural Semites, i. e., our Raphia. The sculptor of that picture did not know the exact name. Our lists (and the statue, p. 41?) show that Raphia played an important part in the Asiatic campaigns of Sethos.

The list on the left (east) side begins (No. 3) with the frequent and yet strange name *Ba(y)t-shanra*, i. e., probably, *Beth-sha-el* (reminding us so strongly of the old sanctuary Beth-el, but not agreeing very well with it in the Egyptian passages); Yenu'am in the southern Lebanon follows, No. 9, *Sa-u-ra*, i. e., Tyre. Many names of the other list are repeated, e. g., at the end, we find the same two names as above—Hazor and Raphia. Some fragmentary names, however, may still receive light from new parallel texts.

A LIST OF RAMSES II IN KARNAK.

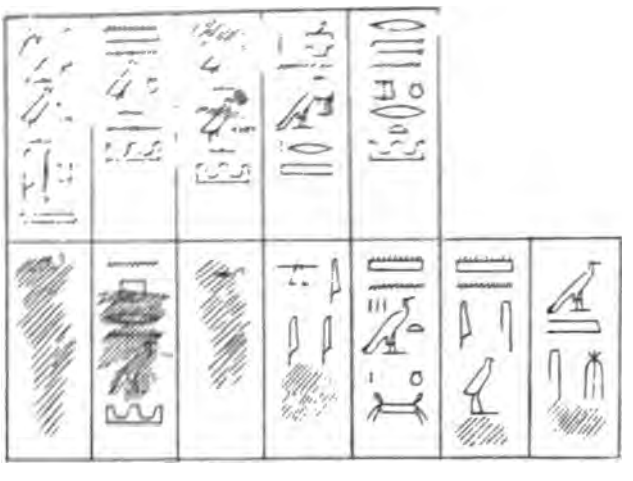
(PLATE 59.)

On the south wall of the temple of Karnak, separated by the door from Ramses II's great list of Palestinian towns (pl. 60, foll). The whole wall belongs to Ramses II, though this text is so analogous to the lists on the north wall that one might think it belonged originally to his predecessor Sethos (Setoy) I. Possibly this was really the case, but I hesitate to state it definitely. The list of six rows of geographical names which stands to the left of our inscription has been recut, especially in the sixth row, and the water lines of the well-known representation of the Orontes River, flowing around the city of Qadesh, seem to precede our list. It thus seems that our text has taken the place of that favorite representation of Ramses II and is merely an imitation of the lists of Sethos (p. 43), due to the intellectual laziness of a temple scribe. The list contains some African names (7 to 13), but Syrian names predominate. They return, as has been said above, in the palimpsest lists of Sethos; rarer names are '(*A*)*ka* (Accho) and *Qamaha*(*mu?*). Remarkable is 2, *Hama*(*i*)*ṭ*, suggesting, at the first glance, Hamath in Middle Syria. However, the i seems to point to an emendation into *Sa-ma-*(*i*)*ra*, a name occurring elsewhere, i. e., *Ṣumur* in southern Phœnicia, not far from Gublu-Byblus,[1] a fortress of some importance, which had formed an object of dispute between the Egyptians and the rebellious princes of the Lebanon region since the days of Amenophis III (compare the Amarna letters). The changing of the well-known name (14) *Ba*[*y*]*ti-shanra* to Beth-'Anath seems to correct an erroneous repetition, but the recutting of the fifteenth name (originally *Anraṭa*, i. e., Ullaza in Phœnicia) is enigmatic.

The list at the left of our text does not seem to me to deserve a full publication, at least for my special purpose at present. It begins with the traditional "nine bows," then African names follow, down to the fifth row. This consists of five Asiatic names recurring in the other lists of Sethos II (see picture below). The most interesting one would appear to be No. 3 ··u-·u, perhaps to be connected with the mysterious *U-n-u-m* of Lepsius

[1] Not the northern Simyra, Biblical Ṣamar, near Arvad, as H. Winckler has demonstrated.

(*Denkmaler*, III, 129, compare p. 43). In this row the personification of Thebes is figured, leading the captives (as on our plate 87). The sixth row has, corresponding with the fifth, five Asiatic names; to fill the space two names of African countries have been prefixed. Facing this row, our text of plate 59.



REBELLIOUS PALESTINIAN CITIES PUNISHED BY RAMSES II.

(PLATES 60 TO 63.)

On the outer (south) wall of the great hall of columns at Karnak, looking to the south, 7 rows of Syrian captives, led by Amon, the lower part by god Sapdu. (Compare Champollion, *Notices Manuscrites* II, 119; Lepsius, *Denkmaler*, III, 144[1]; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, II, 75; my remarks based on these texts, *Asien und Europa*, p. 164.) All the earlier copies have the great drawback that they do not (or insufficiently) consider the fact that the wall had been sculptured over two, partly (below) even three times, so that a hasty copy, or one taken from some distance, will always mix signs belonging to different hands. Even the admirable Champollion, who, far from being a mere "pioneer," has left us, in his *Notices Manuscrites*, such wonderful examples of accuracy in copying, has been partly misled by this difficulty. I have done my best to avoid that danger and hope to have succeeded in general (compare No. 17 on a failure). My greatest advantage was to have with me here all existing copies and to compare them repeatedly directly with the original.[2] The best results were finally obtained, after I had settled the text of Ramses III's list in Medînet Habu and climbed the ladder once more to compare the Karnak text with that duplicate.

[1] With the erroneous title: *northern* exterior wall.

[2] Mr. F. W. von Bissing had kindly made a partial copy for me in 1898. He had correctly noticed the palimpsest character, which, however, could not be overcome by him, copying from below.

The upper rows have, however, suffered very much since the time of Champollion. Saltpeter had dissolved the stone so far that examining with the fingers (which I consider one of the indispensable methods of the decipherer) threatened to bring down large flakes of the stone; even blowing away the dust, which I tried to substitute for handling, made such pieces go up in dust that I felt like a vandal. Thus it was most urgent to copy what was left. Even a bird fluttering around those stones might do great havoc, not to think of the damage which might result, e. g., when the native overseers of Karnak, longing for cheap meat, sometimes fire a shot at the innumerable sparrows, etc. (*'asfurîye* in the local dialect), which swarm in the temple and nest in the clefts of its inscribed walls.

To make up for the damage which the highest parts had suffered, the recent clearing of the lower parts of the wall, from the masses of ancient and modern rubbish piled upon it, had brought to light a long, unpublished line. This line, it is true, offers only poor fragments of names, but with the aid of the copy of Ramses III we can restore a considerable part of them and gain some very precious geographical material.

The list is especially valuable in being limited to a comparatively small part of Palestine, seemingly to the central part (Ephraim) and adjoining regions of (southern?) Galilee. Probably this area is limited even to the regions west of the Jordan, and may be limited still more by further researches. Strangely, not many of the names can be identified in the Bible, although a great number occur in other Egyptian lists. It was a region which may have contained many important towns, although it did not find sufficient consideration in the Biblical books, owing to their partial interest for the southern kingdom of Judah.

Many interesting names are here; of importance for religious questions are (9) *Ya-'a-qa-be-ru* = Jacob-el (now secured in the above correct form), (1) *Ru-o-sha-q(a)d-sh* = *Ro'sh-qadôsh*, "holy head" (i. e., promontory, mountain; compare Phœnician *Rus-*); above all, (22) *Sha-ma-sha-na*, i. e., Samson. Politically important seems to have been, e. g., 4, *Ra-hu-sa* (= the *Rukhizi* of the Amarna tablets, seat of a prince; "washing, bathing place," i. e., for herds, literally. As a new result, e. g., No. 23 now turns out to be one of the Hadashahs of the Bible (*Ḥu-di-sa-ti*), not the Biblical Hadid, which had been supposed here after erroneous copies. The most interesting new results require, unfortunately, long problematic discussions of the possible identifications, but it is to be hoped that even as strange names, as 11) *Qa-ma-sa-pu-y* or (13) *Qau-sa-na-ru-ma*, will finally be identified by the specialists on the earliest geography of Palestine.

THE ASIATIC NAMES FROM THE GREAT LIST OF RAMSES III.

(PLATES 64 TO 74.)

The long lists of geographical names in the sanctuary of Ramses III at Medînet Habû (all together 249 names on the two pylons at the entrance) had long remained unpublished. They were largely covered up by the rubbish heaped up around the temple. In Lepsius (*Denkmæler*, III) only the uppermost 38 names of the northern pylon were reproduced. Duemichen copied (*Historische Inschriften*, I, 11–12) 39 names from the other side in his characteristic style, i. e., with the boldest liberty of arrangement, etc. In the nineties the removal of the rubbish disclosed the greater part of the names. G. Daressy printed the whole 249 names (*Recueil de Travaux*, 1898, vol. 20, p. 113 to 120)[1] but this meritorious publication was printed in types only—a way in which few texts of this character can be reproduced satisfactorily—and not in the original arrangement. Furthermore, my double comparison of Daressy's text with the original has produced enough new observations to justify another edition.[2]

I have not considered the parts on the northern pylon, which contained exclusively African names, marked as such by figures of negroes. It would have been much preferable to edit here the *whole* text. However, I have to leave the African part for a later, separate edition, in order to complete especially the comparison with other texts. Here I have limited myself to the coherent group of those names which, by their character, by the connection, and by attached figures of Asiatics (Semites or Hittites, used alternatively without any criticism) show that they belong to Asia, thus falling within the special limits of this volume.

The decipherment is not always easy. The representation of the first 38 captives, dragged by the god Amon to his favorite, the king, reaches partly very high up. It takes a good glass to make these names out, so that, in 1901, I struggled vainly with this part. A good telescope, instead of a field glass, enabled me to obtain better results in 1904. Then, too, the hieroglyphic signs are not the regular ones. We have of them now only the rough, deeply cut outlines which once had been filled with colored plaster or something similar; the real hieroglyphic signs have fallen out and the rough sketch-like bases are not very legible; they make the distinction of some similar signs difficult.

[1] He refers, p. 119. to an essay by Sayce on some names, in a paper which is now inaccessible to me (*Bulletin de la société Khédiviale de géographie*, 1892, 661).

[2] Otherwise, Daressy's essay will continue to be useful by marking the corresponding numbers in the list, pirated by Ramses III. I have kept his numbering of the whole list.

Whosoever expects here historical reports on the wars of Ramses III in Syria, similar, e. g., to the reports of Shoshenq-Shishak (p. 50), will feel much disappointed. The well-known superficiality of the Egyptian character here shows itself plainly. The king or architect had charged a scribe with furnishing him a number of Syrian names. Instead of going to the royal archives and studying the official reports on the campaigns of Pharaoh (reports which must have existed, at least, for the spoils), the worthy man went to the temple of Karnak and copied the necessary amount of names from the lists of Thutmosis III and Ramses II, without asking if those names agreed at least in the region touched by the wars of Ramses III. He even copied some African names among the Syrians in his haste, etc. However, this kind of lazy piracy was, at all times, so common among the Egyptian scribes (compare p. 41) that, most likely, they saw no fraud in it, and we may doubt if its discovery was ever punished. The whole difference between the amiable superficiality of the Egyptians and the stern, dry, but accurate mind of the Semites is recognizable in such frequent cases. In Babylon and Nineveh such patent dishonesty has no real analogies. There empaling and mutilation may have punished what in Egypt was a small literary liberty.

Although we may question if our lists have *any* historical value for the life of Ramses III, yet they are invaluable as copies of important earlier texts which have been lost or mutilated since that time. South 70–120 (except 95–97) has thus preserved a great many names of that precious list of Ramses II, embracing central Palestine, of which we have spoken, p. 47. We know now the provenience of such interesting names[1] as 72, *Bayti-duquna* (Beth-Dagon, from the god Dagon, mentioned in the Bible as a Philistine idol; modern *Bêt-Deian*); 73, *Qar-beṭaqa* = *Qîr-bezeq*, from the Canaanitish divinity Bezeq, which also the Biblical name Adonibezek seems to contain) 111, *Raui-el*, possibly = Levi-êl,[2] etc. Some names would need considerable discussion. In a few instances we can discover misreadings of the original by our pirate. Not much less valuable is the group 40 to 69, borrowed from the great list of northern Syria by Thutmosis III (compare p. 39). It contains several interesting names, now lost in that original inscription, e. g., 57, *Ṭisubi*, i. e., the thunder god of northern Syria, *Têshup* (probably a name mutilated by omitting a preceding word, originally ["house" or something similar] of *Têshup*); 59, *Ṭukhi-miraka*, in which the ending *malik* may be a well-known divine name, etc. From the same source seems to be taken the group, North 99 to 124 (compare especially 99, 101, 102, 123). Also the group, South 1 to 39, which, at the first glance, gives a rather independent

[1] Although the group 78 to 83 contains names pointing to a region north of Palestine (78 79, 81, in which latter name I would, possibly, emend *Abikhiy* into *Tubikhiy*), which might have been pirated from elsewhere.

[2] Of course, the ambiguity of the Egyptian alphabet would permit also *Reui-êl*, "seen by God," etc.

impression, seems to have used that source, at least in part (e. g., 19, 22, 24); although, near the end, it must have pilfered other material. It must be elucidated by the discovery of similar texts, furnishing the source or parallels.

I have spoken above on the amiable superficiality of the ancient Egyptians, manifested in these lists. Valuable as our text remains, it furnishes further instructive examples for another side of that characteristic carelessness of the hierogrammates. I mean their inability to reproduce any text with such fidelity as we see employed by other nations of the ancient orient, e. g., by the ancient Babylonians, who were able to hand down some of their classical works through 2,000 years in rather creditable form, although their writing, more complicated even than that of the Egyptians, would have given them good chances to disfigure those texts to the point of senselessness, as the Egyptians did with some of their old religious texts within shorter time. We have here one of the rare cases where we know the original, and it is very instructive to see how the copyist felt bound not to render the original faithfully, but to vary it, in order to show his originality; e. g., the list of Thutmosis III gave the name of Balaam's native city (compare p. 39) as *Pe-de-ru*, following rather faithfully its cuneiform model *Pitru*. Our copyist felt bound to make this look more foreign by writing (S. 3) *Pu-ṭe-ra*.[1] Our whole list can be used as an illustration of this freedom of any unnecessary scruples of fidelity, a liberty which so often drives the modern student to despair. However, we have to use such material as it is and still can win good results from it.

[1] This can not be explained as masking the literary theft which is everywhere too patent.

THE LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I.

(PLATES 75 TO 85 AND 86 TO 87.)

This text, one of the most famous hieroglyphic inscriptions, is engraved on the south side of the temple of Karnak, on the exterior wall of the large hall of columns, i. e., of the part called the Hall of the Bubastides, at the flank of the second pylon, near the first door to the south.

This list of conquered Palestinian cities has been noticed and copied by several of the first Egyptologists,[1] so that the non-Egyptologist would believe it to be a text settled and fixed beyond any doubt and dispute for seventy years or longer. The specialist, however, knows well how contradictory and unsatisfactory those copies are. All are independent from each other, but this brings rather uncertainty and confusion.

The text is the most direct monumental contribution of Egyptology to Biblical history, namely the Egyptian report of Pharaoh Shoshenq I (Sesonchis of the Greeks, Shishaq or, after a better reading, Shushaq of the Bible) on his raid on Palestine, mentioned 1 Kings 14, 25; 2 Chron. 12, 2. The inscription seems to indicate that the Egyptian did not come forth to bring sentimental help to his friend and client Jeroboam (a help which this one hardly needed against the smaller kingdom of Judah), but to gain tribute and spoils from both halves of Palestine. Numerous cities, in fact the first and greater part of the list, belong to Israel, the northern kingdom, and thus give evidence of a conquest of Israel which our Biblical writers, from their exclusively Judæan standpoint, did not deem worthy of mention. Thus every name is an historical and geographical monument of importance. I had given much study to this list and soon recognized the necessity of a reexamination of the monument. Twice I visited the royal museum of Berlin, hoping to settle the text with the help of the paper squeezes made by the Prussian expedition under Lepsius, in 1848.[2] These squeezes are a very costly possession of the Berlin Museum, giving an idea of the several names and signs destroyed after Lepsius' expedition, when the tourists, growing more numerous and becoming more aware of the value of this "Biblical relic," cut pieces out for souvenirs, stealing whole names, notwithstanding their size and weight. (Of course, Lepsius himself had given the first example of this wretched practice, cutting out 4 names (105 to 108) and

[1] Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, 148; Champollion, *Notices Manuscrites*, II, 113 (good); *Monumens*, 284–85; Lepsius, *Denkmæler*, III, 252 (good); Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, II (specially poor). A collation with Champollion's text, Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux*, VII, 100, was a very valuable contribution. The other literature contains mere reproductions.

[2] The Berlin Museum has also a plaster cast of the second and third row.

bringing them in badly mutilated condition to the Berlin Museum.) Of these lost parts the squeezes form now the most valuable witness and may become more valuable, if the relic-hunters continue their attacks on the monument. Unfortunately, the squeezes are incomplete; above all, they reach only to 113. But, costly as this material is, it allows only an imperfect control of the inscription; no decipherment can be based on it. As I have stated repeatedly, the paper squeeze is usually more legible than the original with an inscription on a well-polished surface, preserved in sufficiently even condition. Where the squeeze has to reproduce a rough and cracked surface it furnishes endless opportunities to the wildest fancy, misleading the unfortunate decipherer by every unevenness and mutilation reproduced on the paper. So the squeezes of Lepsius furnished to me a sad amount of possibilities and suspicions and quite a number of strange misreadings, which were easily corrected by a glance at the original.

This original was studied twice by me, in 1901 and 1904, and neither time did I follow the usual custom of scholars, i. e., copying the text independently, in order to compare it afterwards, at home, with the earlier copies and to give then a long, clumsy, "learned" (?) *apparatus criticus*, continually placing the names of the early great Egyptologists at the side of the own dear name and putting, of course, the latter in the most favorable light. I had the whole material of earlier readings with me and have compared every sign with them more than once, climbing up again and again, on the highest ladder available at Karnak, in the morning hours when the light was most favorable. Thus I have fingered over even the signs of the third row. For the rows too high above the end of my ladder, I have used my glasses to the best advantage. Thus, it is possible for me to dismiss silently a great many errors of my predecessors and to show in the accompanying plates where the subjective element in the decipherment begins. To this subjectivism there will always remain a certain open field, especially owing to the rather poor and careless treatment of some bird-signs by the artist—a very inelegant, tasteless artist, whose types of Semitic prisoners are also extremely poor, so that one can pity those Bible students who once wanted to find portraits of King Rehoboam and his princes in this sculpture. (Compare p. 39 on the artist's probable models.) Where those bird-signs are damaged, it is peculiarly difficult to restore the original from the traces left. No traces of color have remained in the hieroglyphics.

The most joyful observation was that of the lowest line, which has never before been copied, having been unearthed quite recently (which unearthing has now, however, heightened the uppermost lines, considerably to our disadvantage). This new line furnishes some suggestive fragments and a few interesting complete names, e. g., 150, *Yu-ru-de-n*, i. e., Jordan, evidently to be connected with the preceding destroyed name, [the city X on] the Jordan.

It is certainly necessary to save the text for future studies by an exhaustive copy and photograph.[1] It is now, to a certain degree, protected against further attacks by men, but it is not absolutely safe, and, while the stone is in very good condition, especially in the upper rows, in the fourth and fifth rows the wall is so rotten that the next heavy winter storm (such as appears in Egypt every few years) may blow and wash away a couple of shields. In these rows (strongly discolored, so that they appear quite black on the photograph), a patient reexamination might, perhaps, furnish a couple more faint traces. I may, indeed, seem to have gone far enough in reproducing hopeless and seemingly useless traces; but let us not forget that the discovery of a duplicate of our text may render the smallest trace valuable. Such a duplicate was, in reality, found at Feshn,[2] a couple of years ago, but, unfortunately, in a state of destruction which made it useless for science. There remains, consequently, hope that, some day, another monument may be found, erected by Shoshenq-Shishak in commemoration of the same victorious campaign, perhaps even paid for with the gold and silver from the spoils of poor Palestine. A few stones may suffice to reestablish our list completely, being compared with the much mutilated copy of the list in Karnak.

To give, finally, an idea of the contents of our text: The list begins with the nine traditional names representing the world for the earliest Egyptians; in 10, the stupid artist seems to have reproduced mechanically the heading of his copy on papyrus as a geographical name: "copy of As[iatics];"[3] then follows *Ga-ma-tu·*[*tu?*]. after my own results (a Gimt, Gint, i. e., Gath? ?), a Rabbath (*Ru-bi-ti*, 13, or Rabbith in Issachar?), then Ta'anak, Shunem, and other large cities of the northern kingdom. Distinctly Judæan names begin to be mixed in with 38, *Sha-o-ko*, Soccho, and become more numerous towards the end, which enumerates rather small, insignificant places. The whole arrangement is, unfortunately, as unsystematic as possible, so that we may even question if the capitals of Israel and Judah were mentioned at all and are to be supposed in the present gaps. This is generally characteristic of the mind of the ancient Egyptians, who considered exactness and thoughtful order as superfluous things, exactly like their modern descendants, the "people of *mâ-'alêsh*" (never mind, no matter!), as I have heard Egyptians ironically call themselves (cf. pp. 41, 49). This superficiality is, I repeat, very manifest in our text, when the rather illiterate artist cut longer names of his

[1] The wall had once been photographed for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and this photograph can be bought also as a lantern-slide. It was, however, taken on a very small scale to include the whole wall and the lower lines were sanded at that time. I give here the first complete photograph of the list. On the other hand, it does not include the conventional representation of the king and the god to the right. The photograph shows, as usual, some signs more plainly than the original. I warn, however, against correcting my drawings too boldly with the (often seductive but fallacious) photographic reproduction.

[2] *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, II, 154.

[3] According to a very sagacious observation of Maspero.

prototype into halves, e. g., "the fields (i. e., environs, surrounding villages, exactly as in the Bible) of X" making a special city out of "the fields," or when he treated "the copy of the Asiatics" as an Asiatic city (see above). In Greece and Rome it would be difficult to find such shocking carelessness, with an important historical inscription, engraved in the most official temple of the metropolis, for reading by the public; in Egypt such things are far from being rare. This lack of care characterized the copy which our artist had as his model, at least in its order, as I have said above.

It may be stated also that our list is the earliest testimony for the existence of the northern Semitic (so-called Phœnician) alphabet; its blunders, the confusion of ḥ and kh in one sign (ḥ), etc., prove that the Egyptian compiler drew directly or indirectly from lists in "Phœnician" script. Thus we have a trace of that script, almost a century earlier than the inscription of king Mesha' of Moab, which is generally considered as the earliest monument in "Phœnician." Moreover, the Semitic words kept in the Egyptian form are half Hebrew (Canaanitish), half Aramaic, the earliest testimony for the existence and even powerful influence of the Aramæans, west of the Euphrates.[1]

DEDICATION OF A FIELD TO THE GODDESS ḤAT-ḤOR BY THE LIBYAN SHIELD-BEARER OF KING SHOSHENQ IV.

(PLATE 88.)

A limestone stela in the museum of Cairo, dated from the year 19 of King Shoshenq IV (in the small room behind 2). It is engraved in the name of a Libyan officer, "the great shield-bearer" (*qr'* = Semitic *qallâ'*) of Pharaoh. Like all legal inscriptions of this kind, it is not in hieroglyphic writing, but in hieratic, pretending to reproduce the original legal document on papyrus (or more probably on parchment) deposited in court for establishing the legal claim. Here the document states a dedication of 5 *stt*-measures of arable ground, for the temple of the goddes *Ḥat-ḥor*, "the mistress of the malachite (-city)" which city is not to be sought at the malachite mines of the Sinaitic peninsula, but in the west of the Egyptian Delta.[2] Our stela would determine that locality, it seems. I have left, however, the question of its provenience to the forthcoming catalogue of the museum. Line 8 mentions a city *Pe-* (i. e., *Per-?*) *sobk*, near by.

The principal interest of the inscription lies (for my taste, at least) in the Libyan names of lines 2 and 3. The dedicator was a Libyan, *Washatihate*, son of *Wahetirukanao* and the woman *Ta(?)saharuo*. He prays that the goddess may grant for his gift (l. 5 foll.), "life, welfare and health, a long life to a high, fine age, with the favor of his superior, the great chief of the

[1] See on these two results my detailed remarks, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 169-172.

[2] Daressy, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXII, 8.

Rb (*Lôb*, Libyans), the first great chief of the *Ma* (i. e., Mashawasha-Libyans, Maxyes of the Greeks?)."[1] The title of the dedicator, which makes him appear as an officer of the royal body-guard, seems to have been merely honorary, to conclude from this prayer.

The inscription offers additional interest, e. g., in the curse on future violators of the decree; it contains also some difficult, obscure passages.

THE ORDEAL OF A PRIEST.

(PLATE 89.)

This interesting little text is engraved in a narrow corridor of the : emple of Karnak, near the great obelisk. It had been noticed by Bouriant (*Notes de voyage*, *Recueil de Travaux*, II, 155), whose notes I had with me when copying the text. Quite recently G. Legrain (*Annales du service des antiquités*, vol. V, 40) has mentioned it again, without knowledge of Bouriant's observations. My reproduction is the first attempt at giving the text in a drawing showing what difficulties the fragments offer to the decipherer, difficulties due to shallow engraving and later mutilations.

It speaks of an ordeal held in the court of Amon, evidently about 1100 to 950 B. C., the period from which we have several mentions of similar ordeals. One or more priestly officials (the name *I-ma-doui*, "coming like the morning star" occurs)[2] were accused of irregularities in the administration of the funds for the sacrifices of the god. The evidence being insufficient, the matter was presented to Amon himself, for a solemn ordeal. The technical terms are obscure and the text breaks off in the middle of the proceedings—but we can easily guess that the result was favorable to the accused. A condemnation would hardly have entailed the expensive engraving of the sentence and the glorification of a scandal and proceedings; on the other hand, we can easily conceive that a "whitewashed" man was anxious to pay for the commemoration of his justification to demonstrate his innocence to the public. Let us hope that the god Amon (represented at the left of the text as judge) made no blunder in acquitting the accused. After all we know of the character of Egyptian officials in heathenish as well as in Mohammedan Egypt, we must feel somewhat prejudiced against the accused and against the infallibility of the blue god Amon, "high of feathers, fair of face," etc.

[1] I am not quite certain that the man under whose orders the dedicator stood just then (l. 4) is this superior. His title there is different, and his purely Egyptian descent disagrees. I do not understand the part of the man, line 4.

[2] This *might* be a well-known personage from the end of Dynasty 20, but the text is not clear enough. The date would agree very well.

DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY KING ḤAR-EM-ḤEB.

(PLATES 90 TO 104.)

This important inscription was found during the winter 1881–82,[1] and a copy was at once printed by U. Bouriant (*Recueil de Travaux*, VI, 42). This hasty copy had not much more value than an extract, and, besides, Bouriant's pretty but small and indistinct handwriting led the printer to such a mass of misprints that, e. g., parts of the sides of the inscription tax the ingenuity of the guessing reader to the utmost or are even hopeless. This regrettable character of the publication was recognized by K. Piehl, and he had started to revise it when "one of those squalls of wind (*rafales*) which are so common at Thebes at the approach of spring" forced the brave man to give up his work and to flee (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXIII, 1885, 87). Consequently he gave only a few small corrections, which are far from establishing the text of the lines from which they were taken. It had always been a mystery to me why such an uncommonly interesting monument could remain known and yet unexplored for long years; perhaps the unpleasant character of the locality partly explains this neglect.

The monument, a very large stela of dark sandstone, stands at the very last wall of the temple of Karnak towards the south, at the (11th) pylon of Ḥar-em-ḥêb. It is an exceedingly picturesque part of the great temple. To the north the pylon (No. 10), sunk in in crescent shape; behind it the distant view of the temple halls; in the background the Nile and the Libyan mountains; in the foreground the dense groups of date palms; to the south, the tumbling masses of the last pylon with its statues—this produces a series of delightful pictures, enlivened by herds of sheep and goats (which are constantly there, notwithstanding the draconic laws against any cattle found in the temple). Unfortunately, the inhabitants of the adjoining quarter of Karnak climb constantly over, to herd their flocks and to pluck the bad dates and the leaves (for fuel) from the picturesque trees; also the place around our stela receives as *mustarâh* the filth of the whole quarter. This filthy character of the place makes work at it very unpleasant; sometimes also the promising boys of Karnak, from the walls of the last pylon, molest the intruder into their sacred privileges alternatively by cries for "baqsheesh" and by hostilities. Nevertheless, I have gone over the whole inscription repeatedly and think I can give a text admitting only very few corrections.[2]

The stela in front is about 2.8 m. in width where complete; of line 19, for example, only 1.8 m. have been preserved. The height must be much

[1] Announced by Maspero, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XX, 1882, 134 (signed April 29, 1882).

[2] A review of the lowest 5 lines of the front might, perhaps, furnish small gains. The study of these lines, *ventre à terre* (at that place!) and the unearthing with some potsherds (to avoid the "red tape" and delay necessary for a regular *déblayement*) was not repeated as often by myself as I should have done in normal health.

over 3 meters after my recollections.[1] The signs remind us sometimes of the artist who sculptured the famous statue of Amenhotep, son of *Hapu*, but are much less elegant. They were painted yellow, as the detached piece from the left side (right from the reader's standpoint) shows. This fragment (the upper part of lines 8, 9, and 10) lies now on the ground at some distance. The small detached fragments which Bouriant gives on his plate (compare below, p. 59) are now all gone; still worse is the loss of some groups broken out since that time, for which we have to depend on the very poor reproduction in types by Bouriant.

The contents of the inscription[2] present unusual interest, giving us an insight into the administration of Egypt, especially into its defects. The usual tendency of inscriptions is to conceal the administrative machinery entirely and to give the impression to the reader that the country, ruled by the beloved son of the gods, leads the happiest existence possible. To speak of taxes and state revenue would disturb this idea of a divine kingdom on earth. Here the veil is lifted and we see not "the kingdom of the gods," but the unpleasant spectacle of a typical oriental administration. The chief characteristics of such an administration are the corruption and irregularity of its officials and the misery of the lower classes, the poor, as they are called here and elsewhere (quite analogously to the famous mediæval expression "*misera contribuens plebs*").

Pharaoh Har-em-ḥêb, the last king of Dynasty 18, once an official himself, who had finally gained the throne as vizir and husband of a princess, resolved to reform these old defects, evidently because his beloved subjects expected of him a better knowledge of the defects than that possessed by the princes, whom inherited divinity had always kept aloof from the people. To make his new reign popular, he dictated solemnly to his scribe (l. 13) his observations and good resolutions:

Line 14 foll.: Against pressing ships of the subjects into the service of the officials when these ships ought to be used for the service (i. e., socage) of Pharaoh, and against defrauding the cargo of these ships destined to be paid to the government. Such defrauded tributes shall not be taken once more from the poor (l. 20). The taxpayer always had to transport his taxes, consisting of grain, etc., to the governmental magazine. Here the officials are told to force ship-owners to do this for "poor ones, not possessing ships"—a very doubtful philanthropy.

Against taking slaves from the subjects for irregular socage (as it seems, for the private service of the officials). Especially the "auditors" for the "bureau of sacrifices" had done that when executing certain field-work (socage?) for the government (l. 23–25).

[1] Some measurements have become illegible in my manuscript; only the words "width of lines on left side 6½ cent." have been preserved.

[2] *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, XXVI, 1888, 70; I had tried to translate what could be made out from Bouriant's extract.

The native soldiers (who served as police) had made it a privilege to keep for themselves the skins of cattle belonging to the state and rented or lent to subjects, on condition that the hide bearing the governmental branding should be returned when a cow died (evidently, another cow was then furnished in place of the lost one). That custom is suppressed (l. 25–28).

The annual inspection of all administrative bureaus by the "scribe of the table of the queen and of the harem" is rendered more severe. Inspectors conspiring with defrauding or irregular officials are threatened (l. 28–32).

Against special defraudations of "herbs" and wood for "the breweries and kitchens of the king" (l. 32–34).

Against some "monkey hunters" (or monkey shepherds, drivers), who had throughout the country extorted various tributes from ships, from the estates of single women, etc. (l. 35).

The latter paragraph is very enigmatic in its terminology. The "monkey hunters" (?) would seem to be a mercenary troop of Nubians, taking a regular place in the administration.

Against pressing people unjustly into a special service (left side, l. 1).

Against wrongs committed by the "collectors of the harem" on fishers and fowlers, evidently, by taxing them or taking a share of their catch (left, l. 2).

After a number of very general or obscure statements, we see the king turn his attention to the reform of jurisdiction. Juries of educated persons (in most cases, priests), who had to sit in court (a wonderful anticipation of our modern jury system!), had been influenced by bribes. The king, expects to suppress "jury fixing" by abolishing "the fixed sum of silver gold, and copper" which the judges had, so far, received from the contending parties. Were they paid by the state to make up for this lost gratification? Possibly not, and even if they were, we must imagine that the unavoidable irregularity of all governmental payments forced those judges to obtain a reward in a way which, in the eyes of orientals, could hardly be called entirely illegal. The royal philanthropy again appears somewhat doubtful.

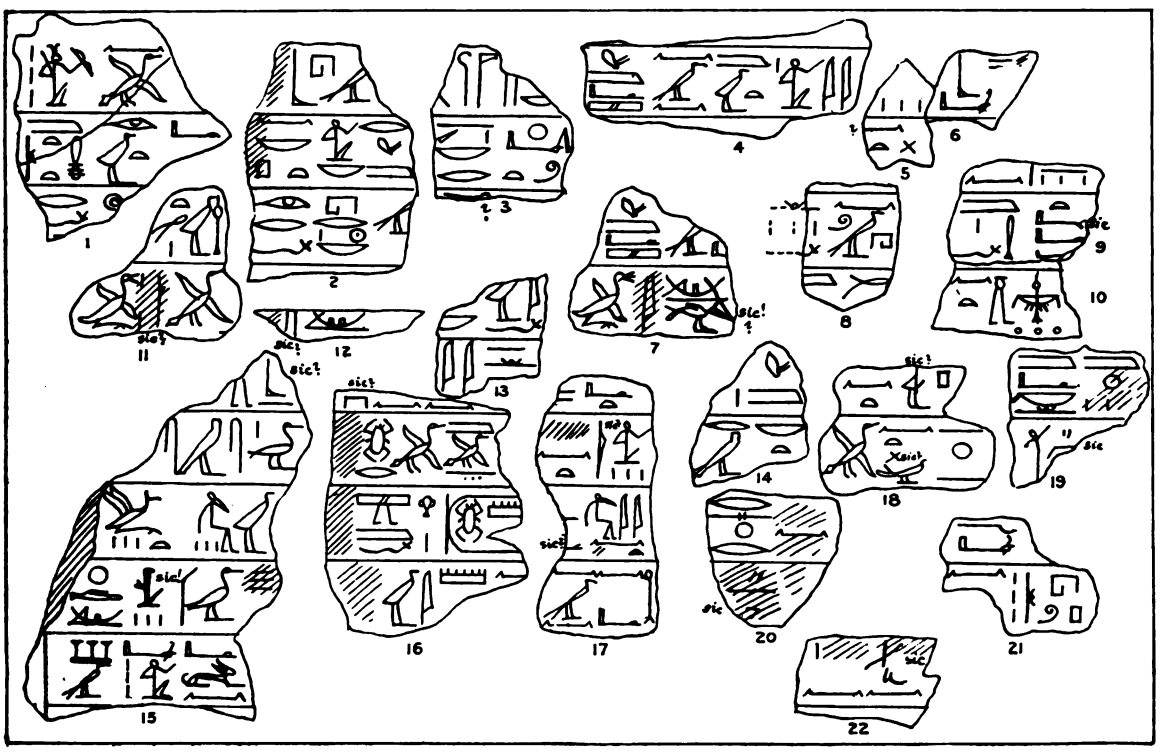
The punishments, by which all the above regulations were to be enforced according to our decree, were cruel enough. The mildest punishment mentioned is 100 strokes with the stick "so that 5 wounds will flow with blood" (i. e., in order not to kill the culprit, the blows were distributed systematically). Worse is the penalty threatened most frequently—cutting off the nose and deporting the mutilated person to the frontier fortress *Ṯa-ru*, not far from the later Pelusium. (The Greeks have preserved a remembrance of such frontier colonies of mutilated Egyptian convicts in the name Rhinocolura.)

Of course, a large part of the stela is filled with the usual over-loyal cant, and the scribe becomes, especially towards the end, a poet describing in rapture the glorious effects of the reforms, the happiness and gratitude of the nation, etc. If only we were not bound to read these descriptions

with the utmost skepticism! Reforming those officials from their inveterate habits of irregularity, especially from increasing or supplanting their scanty (and irregular) income by defrauding the superiors and robbing the subjects—did it not mean reaping figs from thorns or changing the skin of the Ethiopian? An old, experienced official, as our reforming king himself was, ought to have known this; if so, some of the great reforms meant simply to give "the poor ones" an impression of the zeal of the new Pharaoh for their welfare and thus to prop his new throne. However, let us think the best of our reformer and assume even that the good effects of the big decree lasted the entire twenty-one years of his reign!

From the many interesting details mentioned occasionally by our text, I name one more—the confirmation of Herodotus' report that the soldiers consisted of two distinct classes already at the time of our king, i. e., about 1400 B. C. (compare l. 25). The historical explanation is, most likely, the influence of two foreign elements settled in Egypt. The pure native element never formed an effective army, for the character of the Egyptians was not at all warlike.

In order to give the text as completely as possible, I repeat here the (now lost) fragments from Bouriant's plate, as well as I can make them out from his partially unreadable drawing. I omit, however, the fragments from the top, which contribute nothing towards the understanding of the decree except the royal name.



THE EARLIEST REPRESENTATIONS OF SURGICAL OPERATIONS.

(PLATES 105 AND 106.)

My work in the necropolis of Memphis amounted to a very small fraction of what I had proposed to myself, and I think it wisest to lay up my notes for future completion. I think it permissible, however, to give here one small specimen of those notes, and hope to earn the gratitude of scholars by communicating these extracts without waiting, if I or others shall be able to publish the whole monument.

The pictures reproduced on our plates may claim to be the earliest known representations of surgical operations. They were found in a tomb excavated by Loret in the northern part of the necropolis of Saqqârah.[1] The high official to whom the tomb belonged lived under the first king of Dynasty 6, *Tty* (pronounced *Atoty* or similarly), the *Othoes* of Manetho. A man mentioned in the tomb has the loyal name "Atoty may live," and the tomb adjoining belongs to an official of the same Pharaoh. Thus we can date that tomb about 2500 B. C.

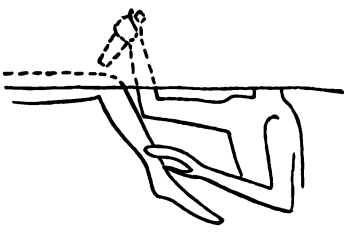
The pictures which I have extracted here are sculptured on the door-posts of the entrance. The left side begins above with a scene unintelligible to myself. Is the operator the man to the right, of whom only one knee has been preserved? The operation ought, then, to be one of the left hand of the person squatting in the middle. Or is the left side the important one? We might find an argument for this in the way in which the left "physician" looks, namely, away from the patient towards the hand to be operated, while the other "physician," looking at the patient, would rather seem to watch him, lest he should stir during the operation. I am at loss about this operation. The left physician seems to open the hand of the patient or to do something with his fingers. Unfortunately, the inscriptions give no help, only the words of the patient, "ye move(?) in (my?) life," seem to suggest that the patient complains of pain. Below, operations of hand (palm) and foot (toe?), both not very clearly represented. The drawing of the hand holding the knife in the left scene is as impossible as some of the proportions of the limbs. The left patient says: "do this (and) let me go (*?ḫp = ḫpy?*) the "physician" replies: "I'll do as bids (or praises) me the king." Evidently this address is jocular, if I have translated it correctly.[2] The patient to the right implores the operator "don't hurt me thus!"—a cry in which he has

[1] I am obliged to the director of the Service of Antiquities, M. G. Maspero, for special permission to copy these sculptures.

[2] I assume the last sign (*w*) to have been misplaced and draw it to the upper line: *ḥs-w(y)*, but even this is unsatisfactory grammatically, as I know well.

our full sympathy. Both patients hold their arms to suppress their pain. The operating knives might be metal—little square plates of copper, sharpened on one side—not flint; but, as the colors have gone, I can not decide this with certainty; also stone might be possible (see below).

The upper row of the other door-post evidently represents, on the right side, the opening of a boil in the neck. The operator sits on a brick in order to see better, and seems to hold the head of his victim with the left hand, while the right hand operates. Uncertain is the restoration of the left group. Does the raised right hand of the "physician" hold the hand of the patient? If the latter would place his foot on the knee of the "surgeon" to give more weight to his pulling, we should expect the operator to hold his hands with both hands. It seems, after all, that the right hand of the "surgeon" opens a boil on the knee. I restore the broken part thus:



The most interesting part is the lower row, representing two circumcisions. So far we had only a single representation of such a ceremony (Chabas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, 298, after Prisse d'Avennes, from the temple of Khêns(u) in Thebes; this picture was repeated and further discussed in Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bücher Mosis*, 278). Our new picture has the advantage of being about 1300 years earlier and unmutilated.

The persons circumcised are not boys of 6 to 8 years, as in the only other picture known, but youths, so that we see the earliest custom in Egypt perfectly in harmony with the earlier Semitic usage. Circumcision, consequently, seems to have preceded marriage also with the male sex (of the females we know this from a papyrus of the Greek period, in the British Museum). Especially valuable is our representation as showing that the earliest instrument was always a flint.[1] This is clear in the left case, consequently also the right operator's instrument will be of the same material, only of a more elaborate form.

The right operator says treacherously "I shall do you good," reminding us of a French proverbial expression which is not very complimentary to the veracity of dentists ("*il ment comme un arracheur de dents*"). What the youth says seems to indicate credulity: "(oh?) physician, (this?) is excellent."[2] Nevertheless, the holding of the operator's head betrays, at least, his nervousness. The other youth is refractory and the surgeon addresses his assistant: "hold him; do not allow him to stir (? or, to fall back)," to which he replies: "I'll do at thy bidding." Below a word (*sbt*, an infinitive ?) which I do not understand, and "prophet" (evidently to be understood as indicating:

[1] Compare the ritual prescription in the Old Testament (Exod. 4, 25; Josh. 5, 2).
[2] Literally, to be excellent.

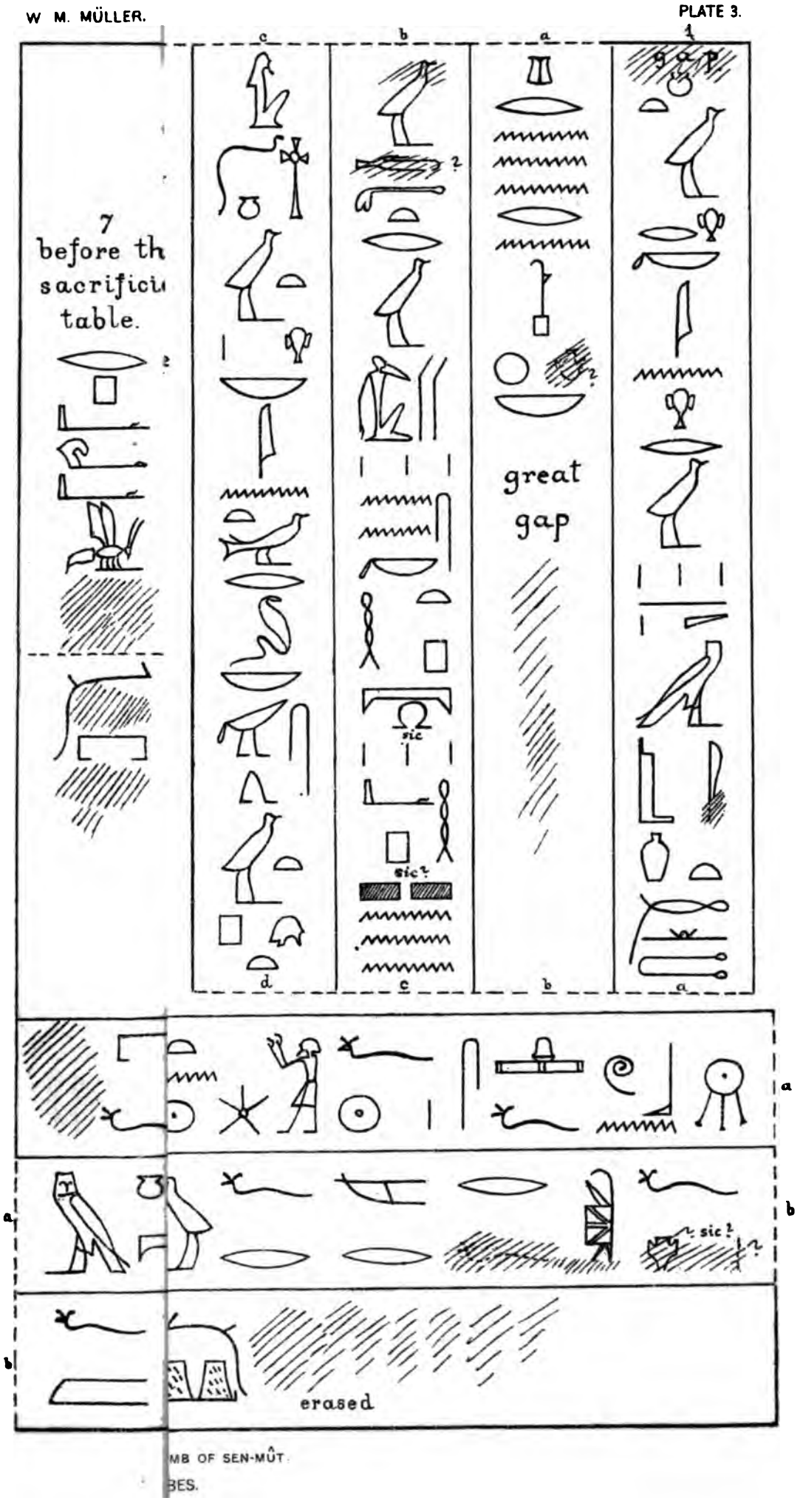
an operation performed [by] the prophet?). So then, our representation furnishes both the later word for physician (written *syn*, Coptic *sayn*) and, it seems, the priestly position of the circumcisor. In the other three rows, we have no indication that the operators were professional men, but here it seems to be emphasized that they were experts in the ritual, no laymen (as in modern Egypt, where the barber performs the rite). Consequently, we could not conclude from our pictures that the physicians were then always priests, although this is elsewhere proved to be the rule for the better-educated physician. However, the priestly costume is absent very often in earliest time with priestly personages.

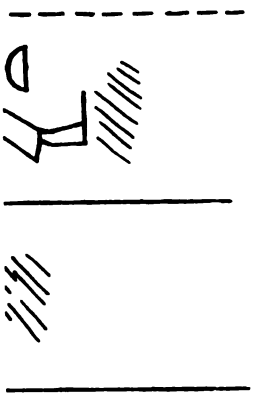
The first impression of everybody will be that the possessor of the tomb (*Ḥr-'nḫ-m'* with the "good name," i. e., calling name, *Ssy*) is represented as physician in his priestly functions. He is indeed figured, in several other sculptures, wearing the priestly leopard skin, and has priestly titles: "priestly recitator (*ḫr(y)-ḥb*), *sm*-priest." But a man of such a high official position was above circumcising and opening ulcers. A "chief (?) of the royal house, vice-overseer of the royal garden (?), prince . . . of Hieraconpolis, chief-guardian of Eileithyiaspolis," etc., certainly would circumcise and operate, perhaps, only members of the royal family, etc., while the patients here are ordinary people and the operator is not *Ssy*. Consequently, the pictures have no more reference to the life of the proprietor of the tomb than so many scenes from everyday life represented here and in other tombs, as, for example, here working artists, etc. It still remains strange why that side of life was chosen for so elaborate a representation and in such a very prominent place of the tomb; but we may leave this question for further discussion, together with the explanation of the operations, for which we need the advice of experienced physicians.

FOREIGNERS IMPORTING TIN INTO ANCIENT EGYPT, CA. 2500 B. C.
CAIRO MUSEUM.

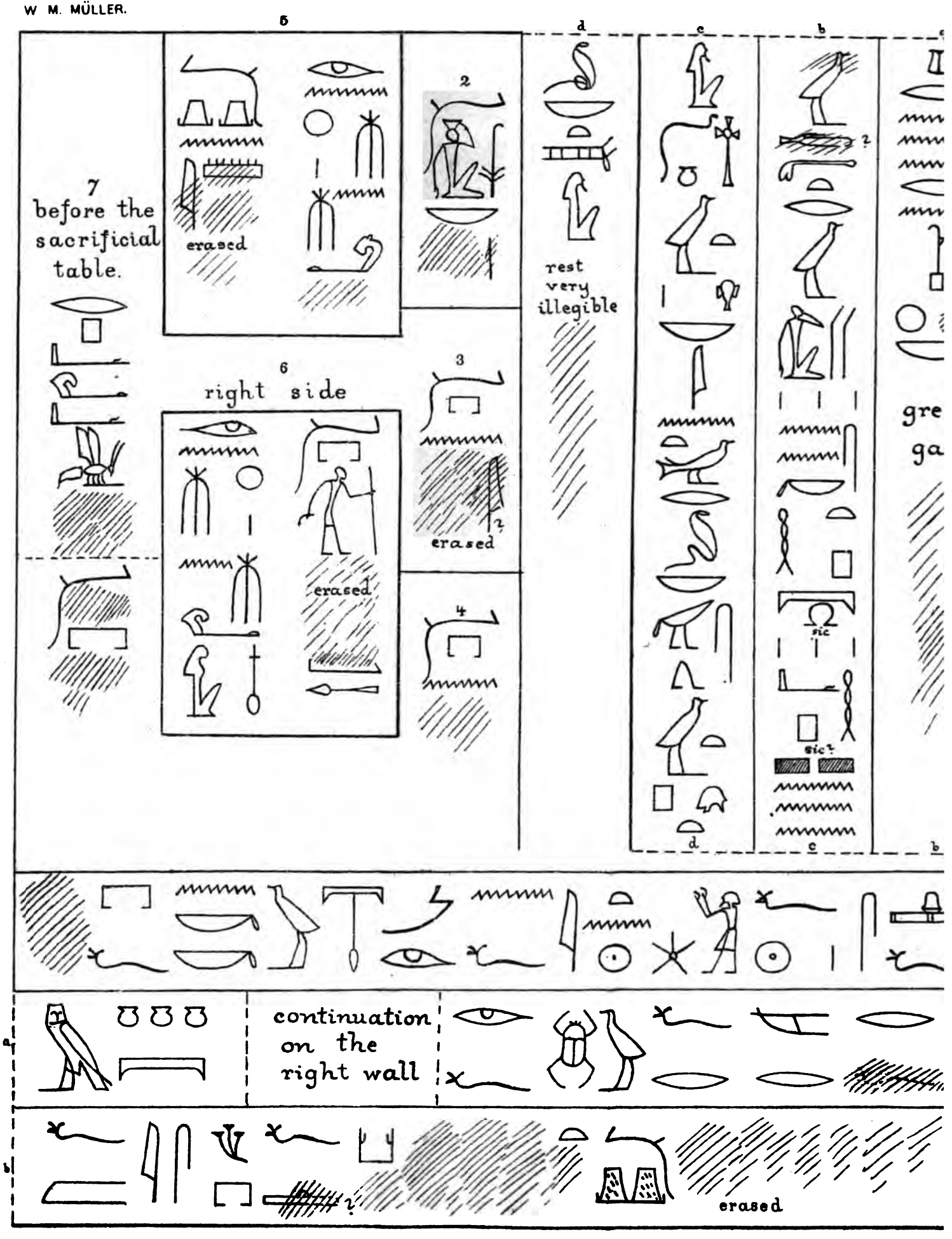
MESOPOTAMIANS IN EGYPT, BEFORE 2500 B. C.

CAIRO MUSEUM.



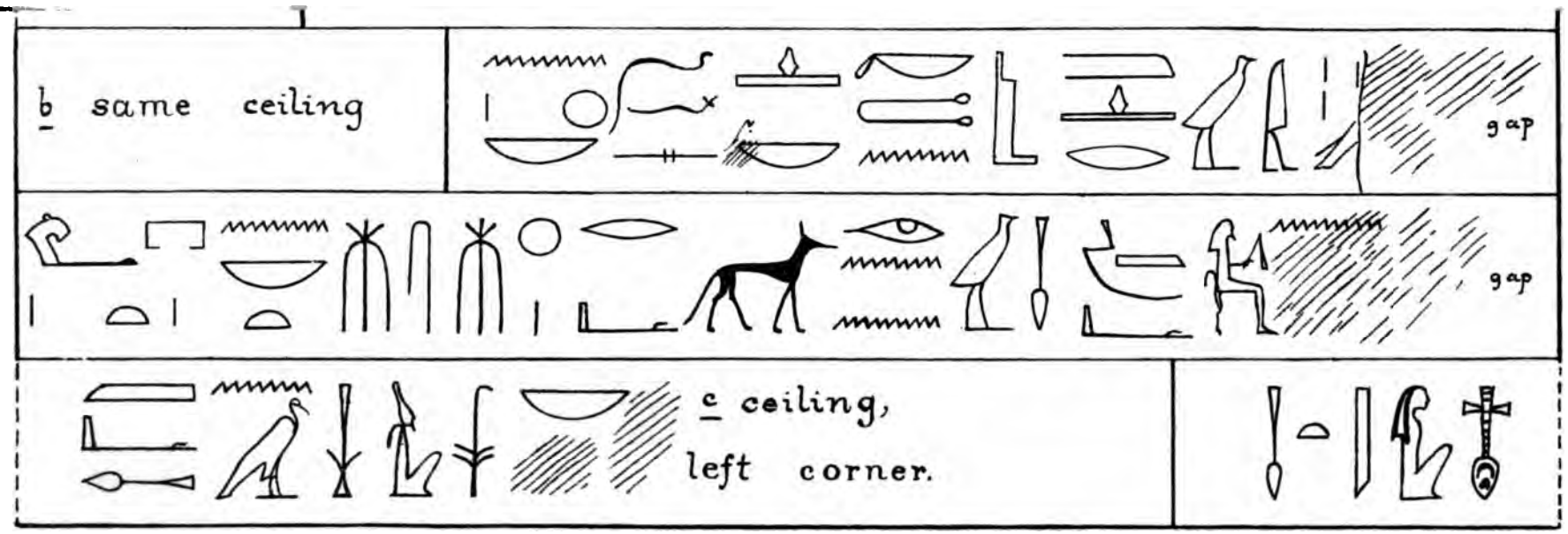


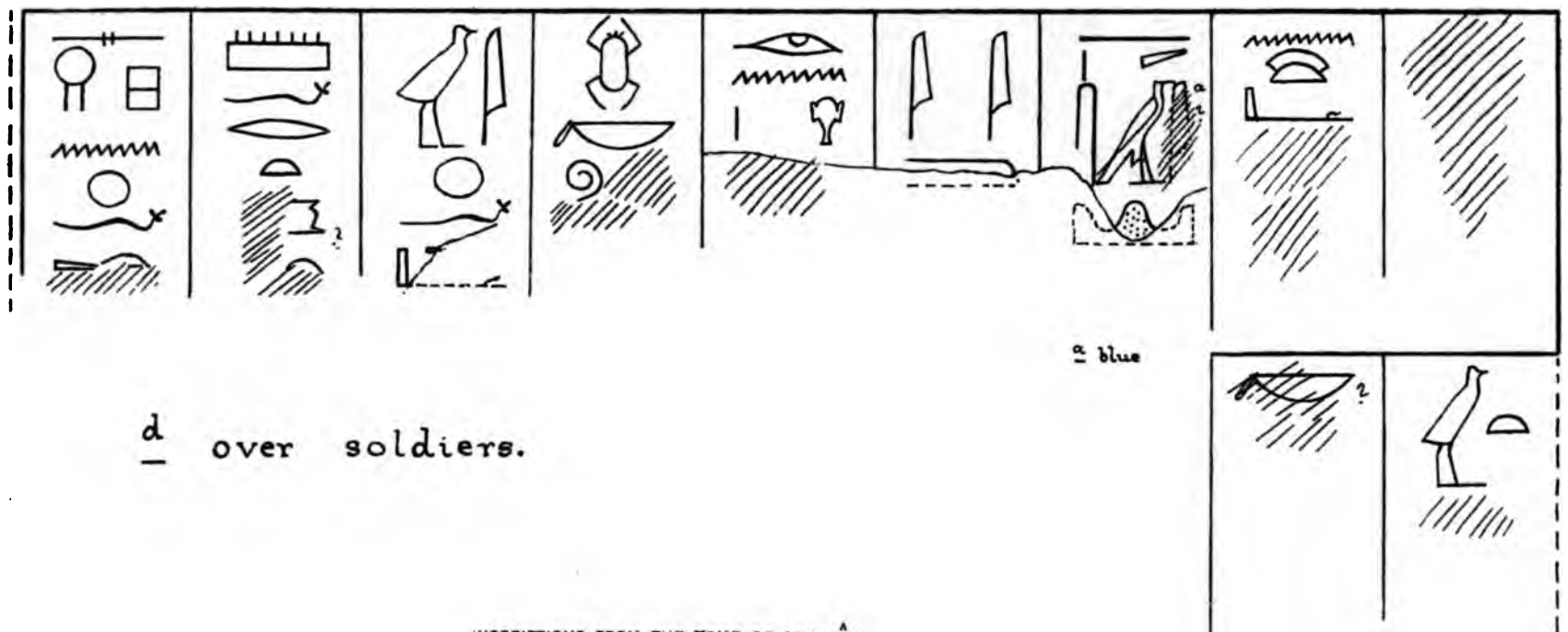
d over soldiers.



INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TOMB OF SEN-MÛT.

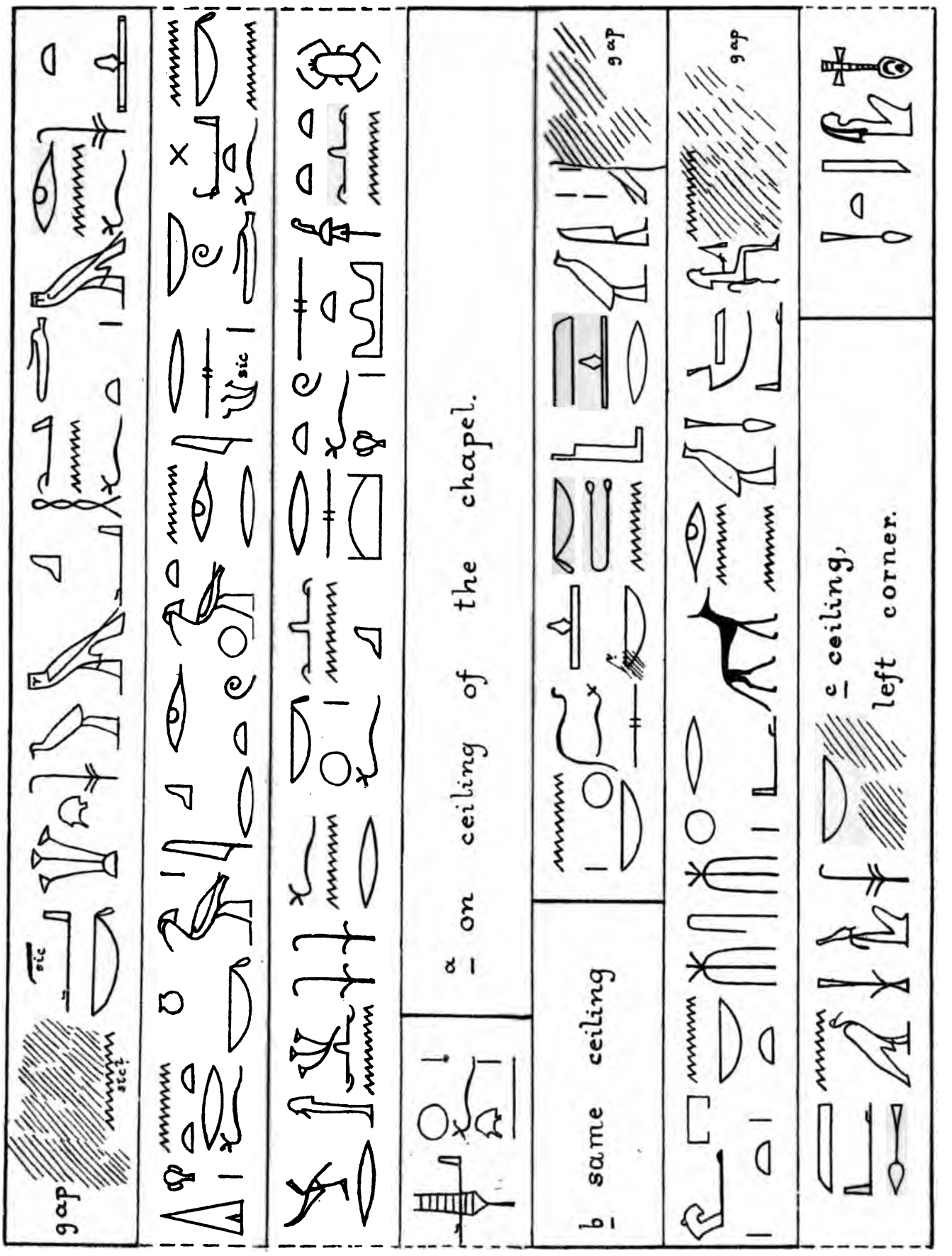
WESTERN THEBES.





INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TOMB OF SEN-MÛT.
WESTERN THEBES.

PLATE 4.

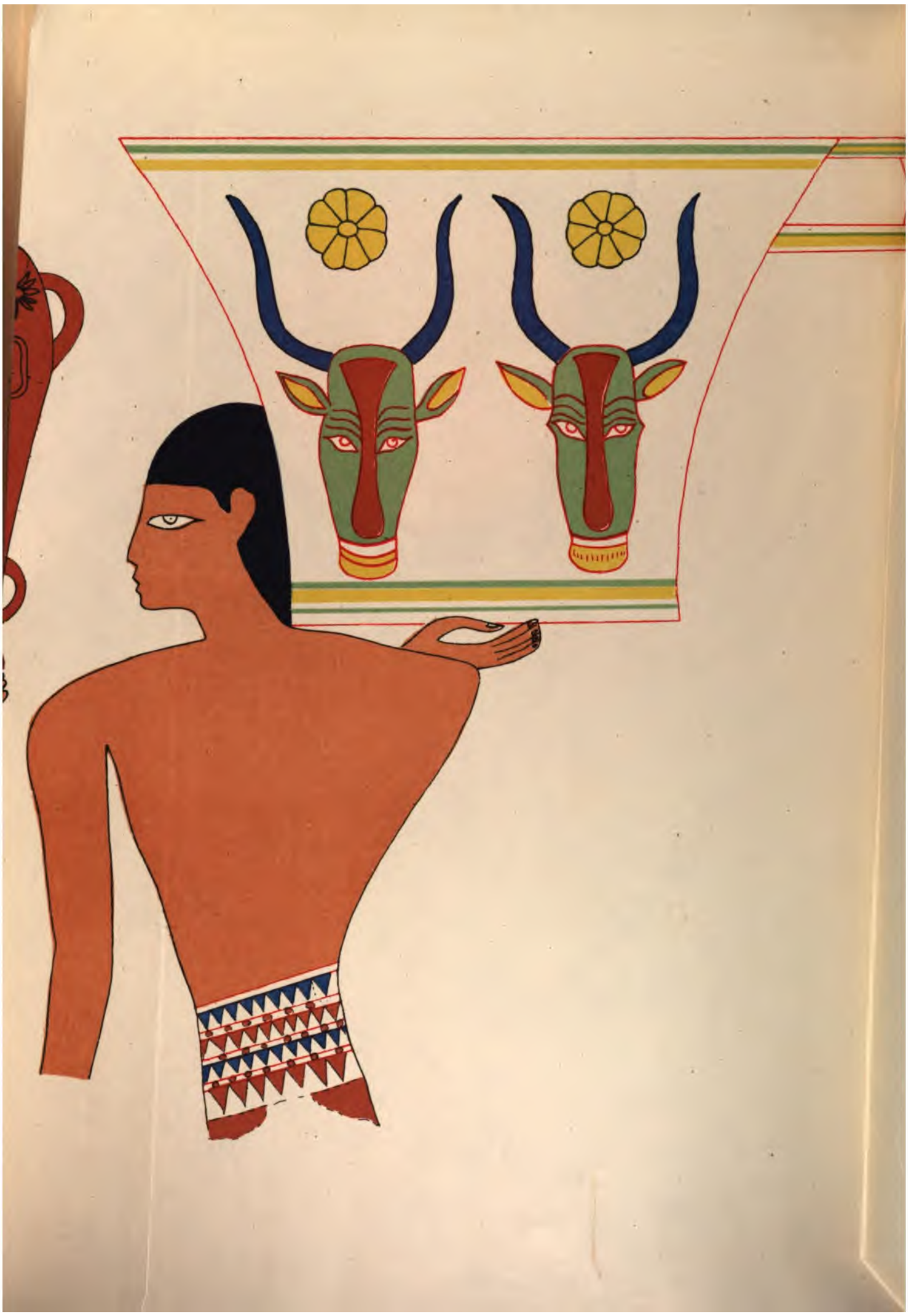

gap
sic
sic
sic
sic
a on ceiling of the chapel.
b same ceiling
gap
gap
c ceiling,
left corner.

THE AEGEAN AMBASSADORS FROM THE TOMB OF SEN-MUT.
WESTERN THEBES.

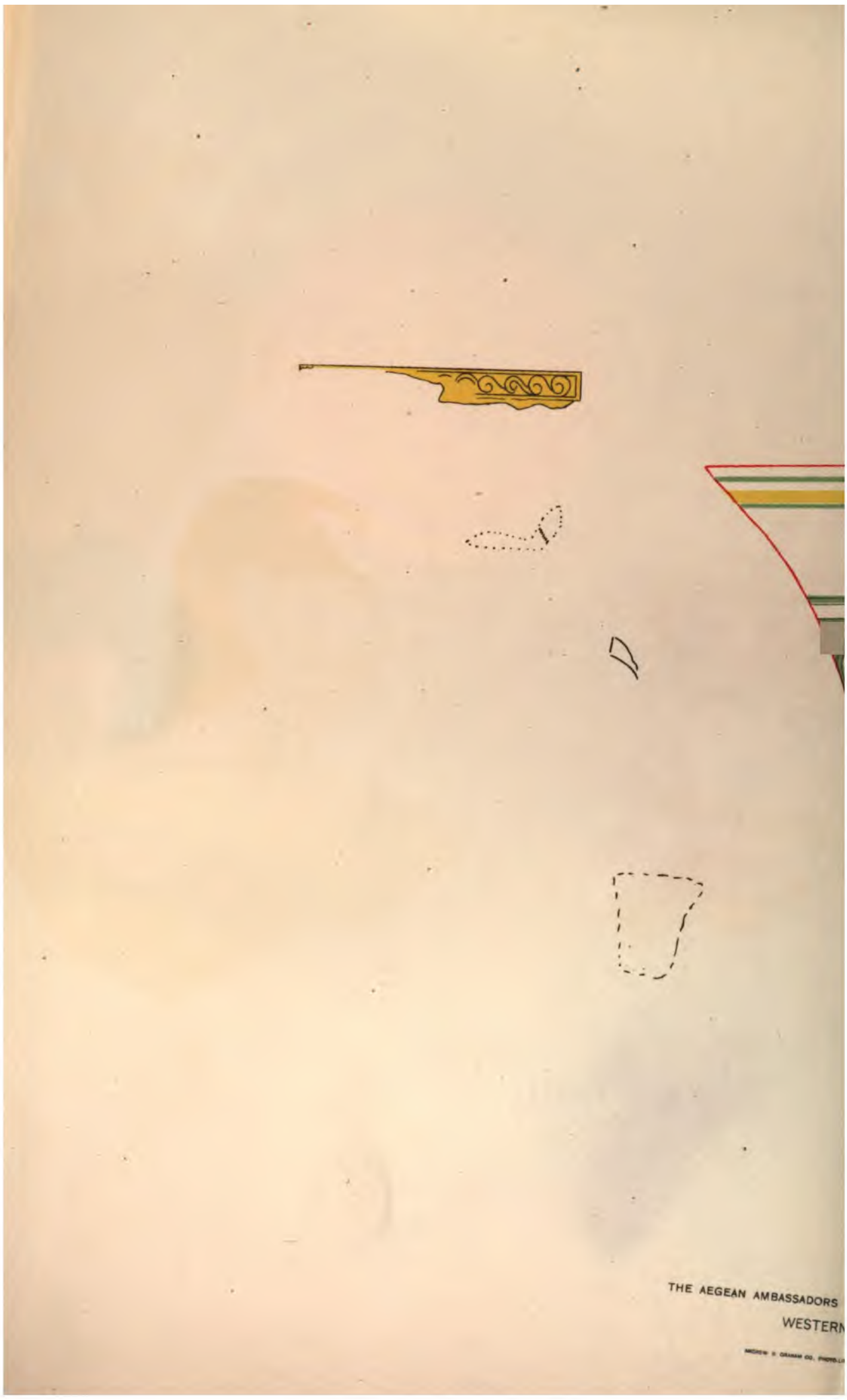
W. M. MÜLLER.

MONTEM & BRAUNER CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

W. M. MÜLLER.



W. M. MÜLLER.



THE AEGEAN AMBASSADORS

WESTERN

W.

THE AEGEAN AMBASSADORS FROM THE TOMB OF SEN-MÛT (CONCLUSION)

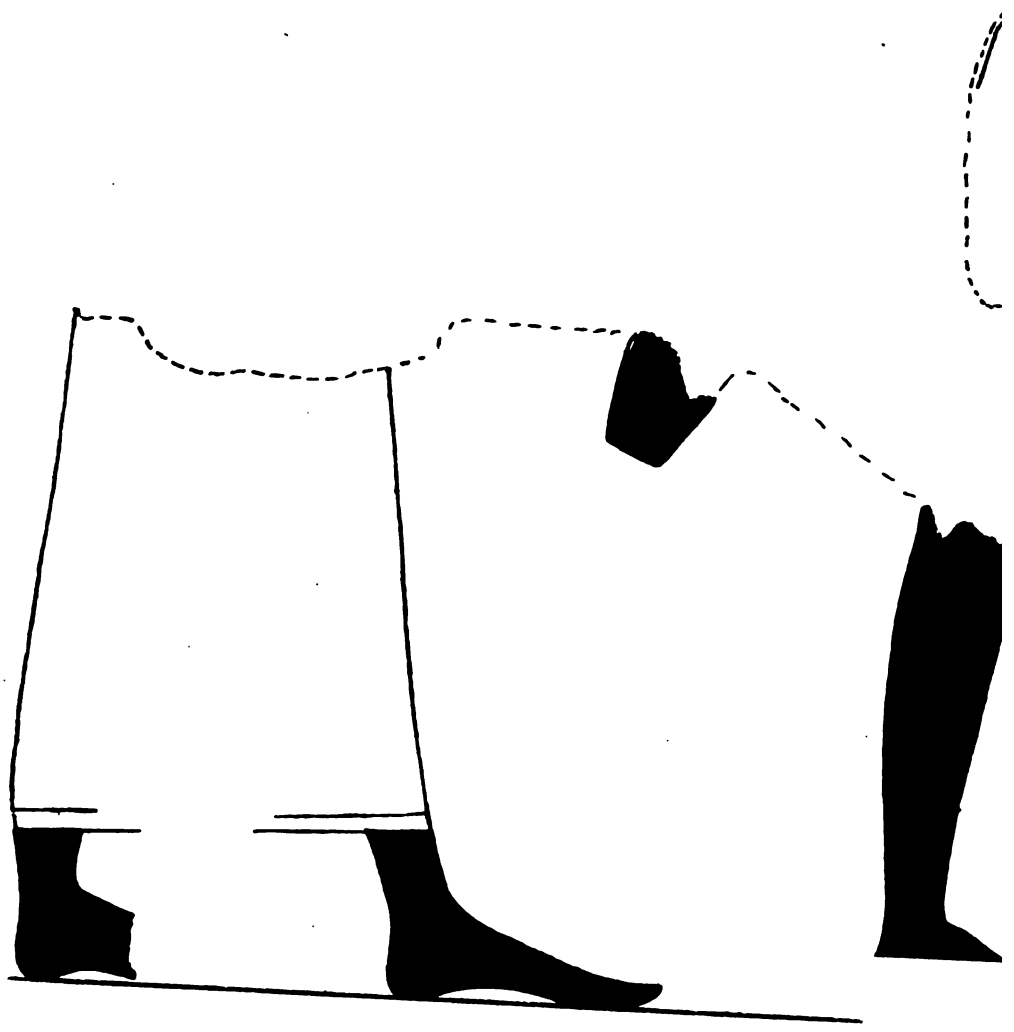
WESTERN THEBES.

SCALE THREE FOURTHS OF ORIGINAL.

ANDREW B. STASAN CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

PLATE 7.

W. M. MÜLLER.

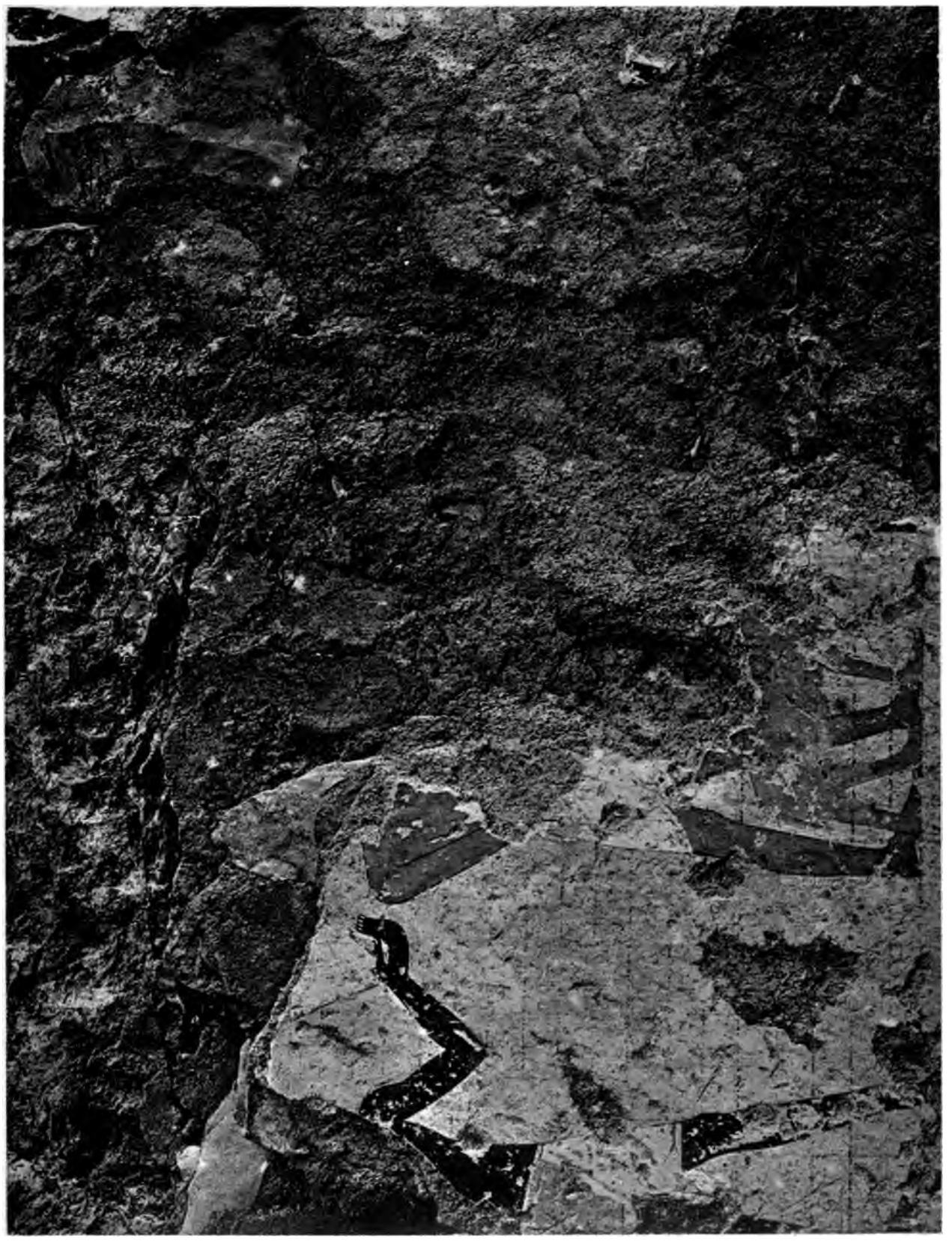


THE ASIATICS FROM THE TOMB OF ANN'A
WESTERN THEBES.
IST PART

W. M. MÜLLER.

THE ASIATICS FROM TH
WESTERN T
2D PA
SCALE TWO-THIRDS

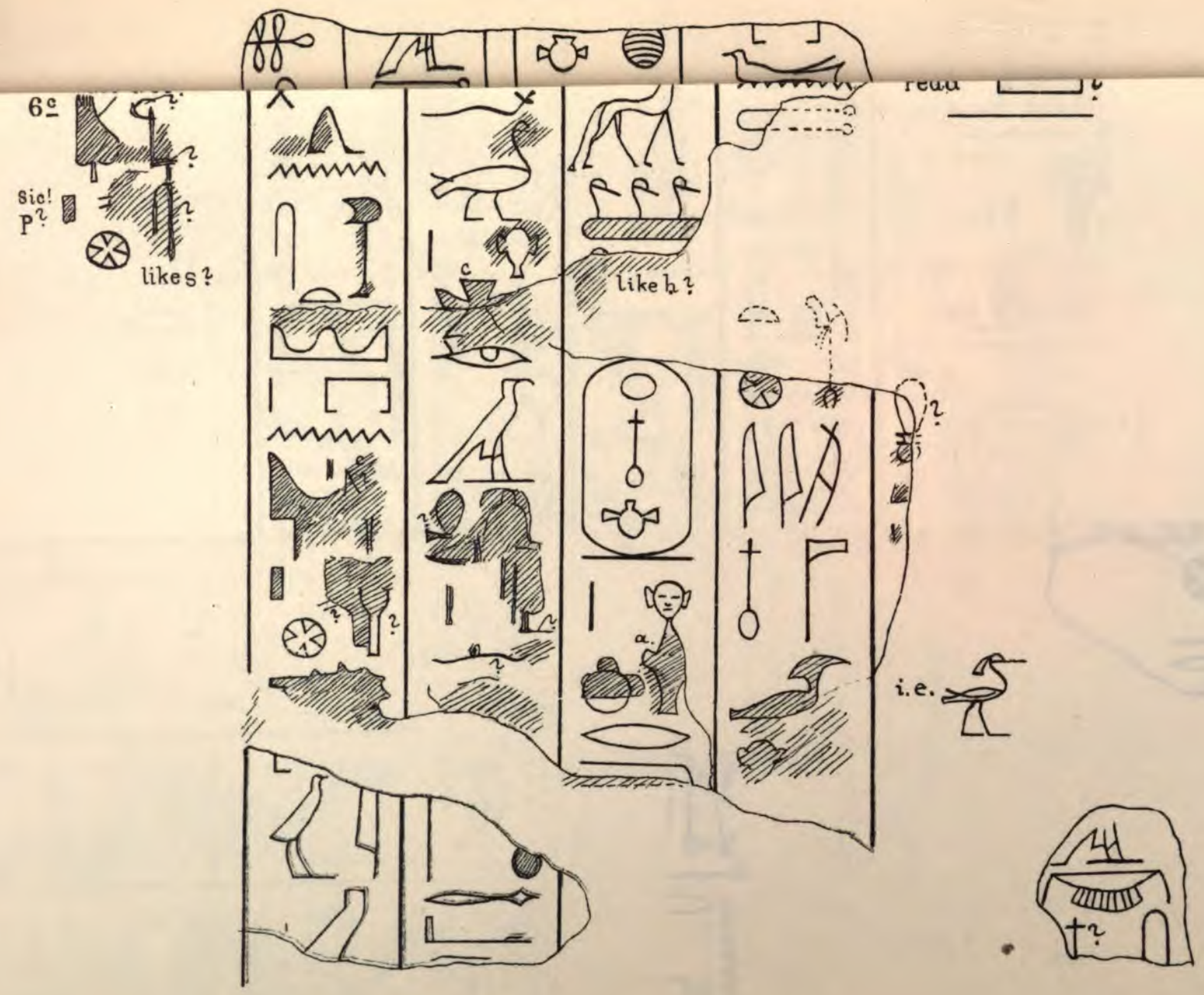
ANN'A



THE ASIATICS FROM THE TOMB OF ANN'A. FIRST PART.
WESTERN THEBES.

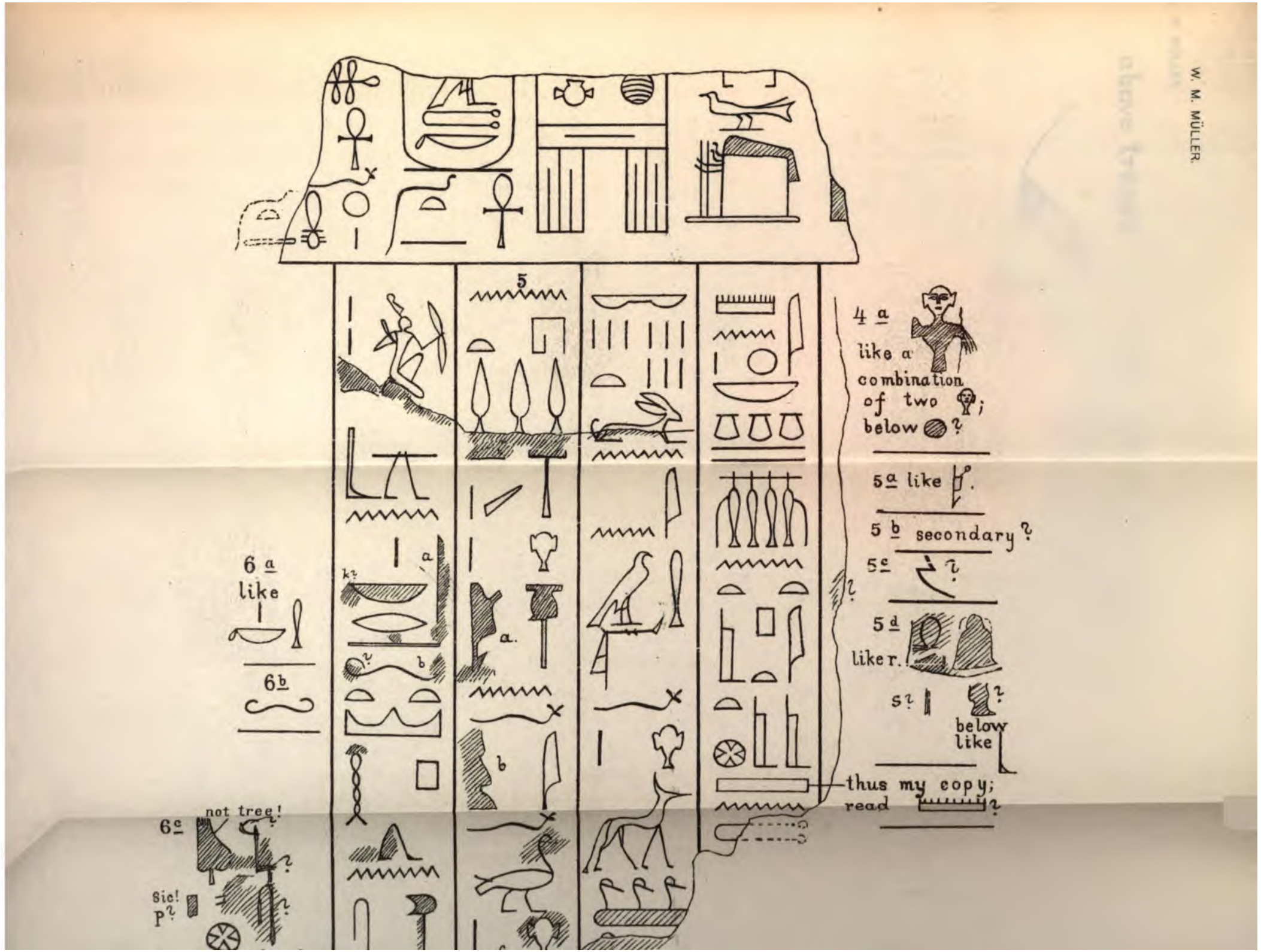
HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.

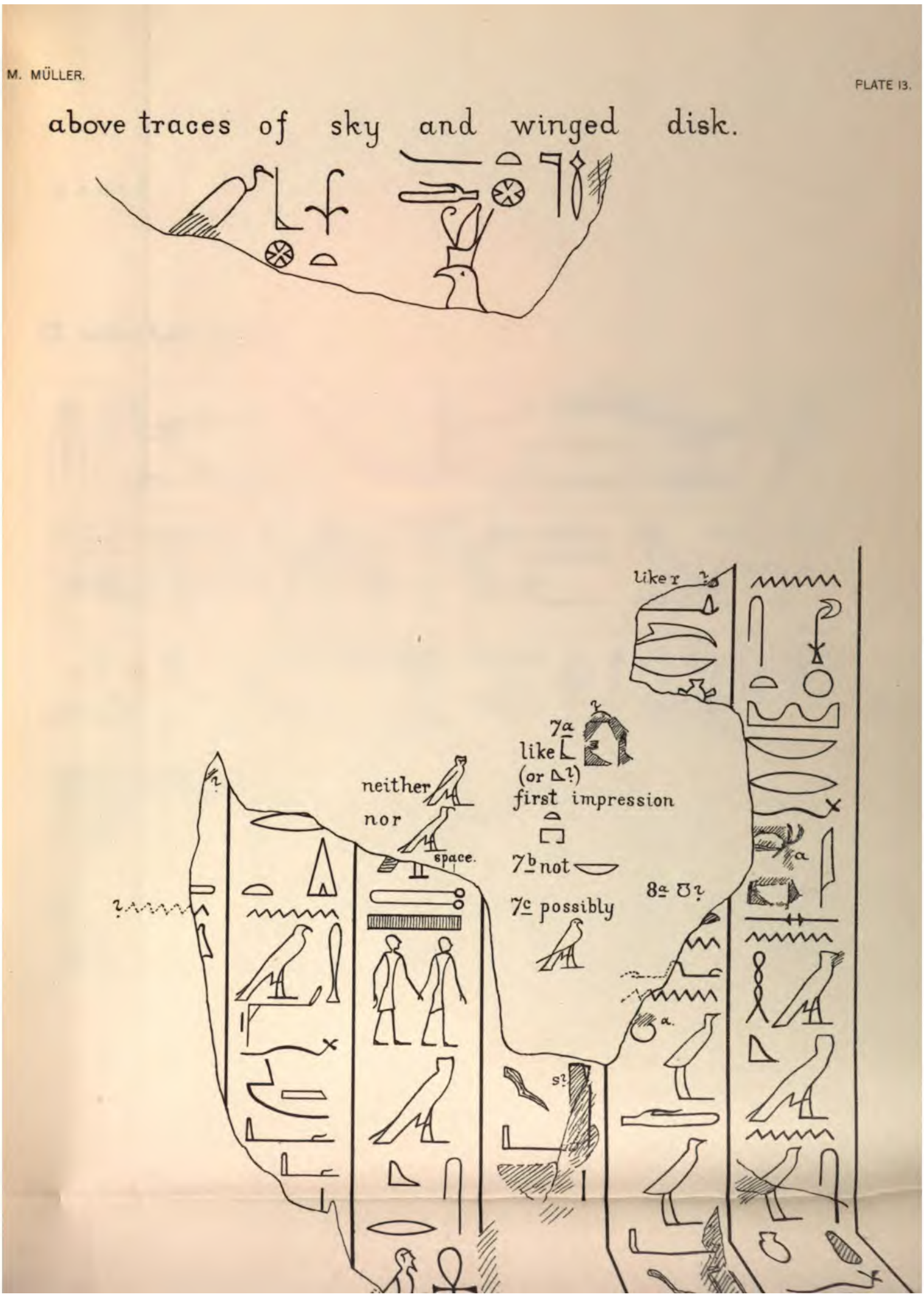
THE ASIATICS FROM THE TOMB OF ANN'A. SECOND PART.
WESTERN THEBES.



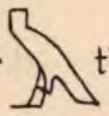
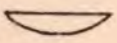
THE WAR OF PSAMMETICHUS' I, AGAINST ETHIOPIA.

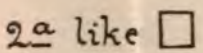
KARNAK.

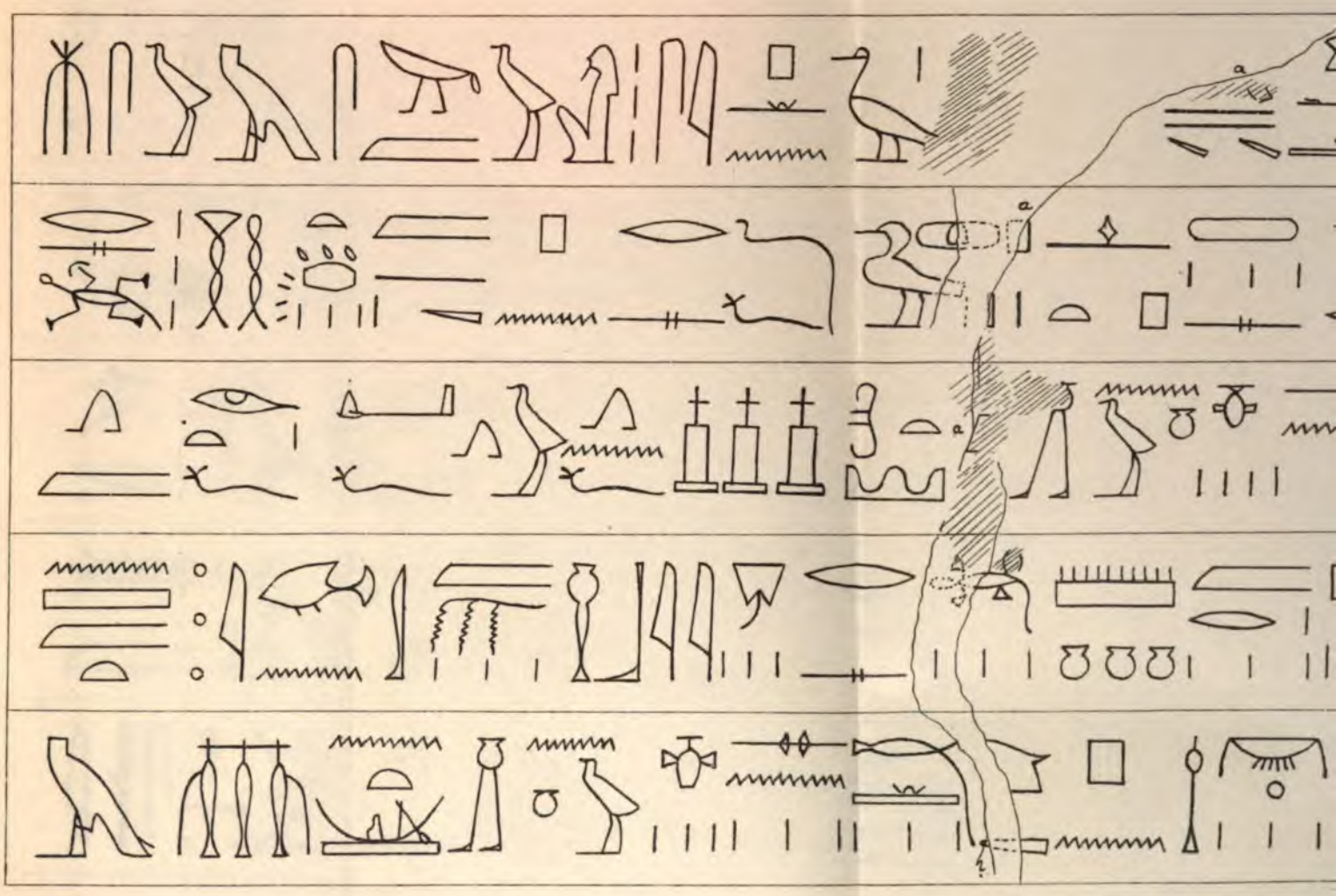

5
4 a
like a
combination
of two ;
below ?
5 a like
5 b secondary ?
5 c ?
5 d
like r.
s ?
below
like
thus my copy;
read ?
6 a
like
6 b
6 c
not tree!
Sic!
P ?
k ?
a
b
a.
b


above traces of sky and winged disk.
like r ?
7a
like
(or ?)
first impression
neither
nor
space.
7b not
7c possibly
8a ?
?
s?
a.
a

W. M. MÜLLER.

1a rather  than 

2a like 



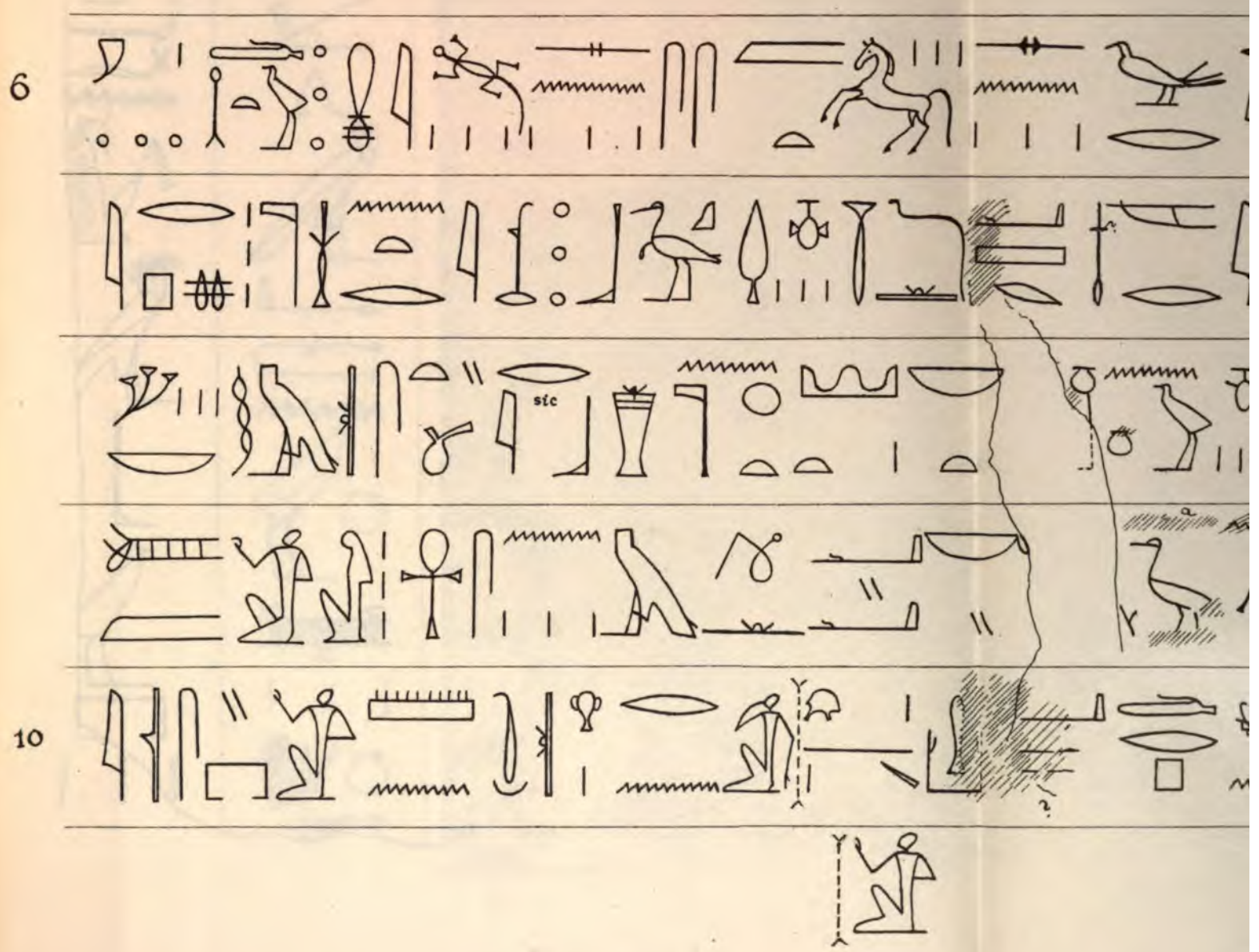
HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION OF A KING

MUSEUM

1a rather hout)

W. M. MÜLLER.

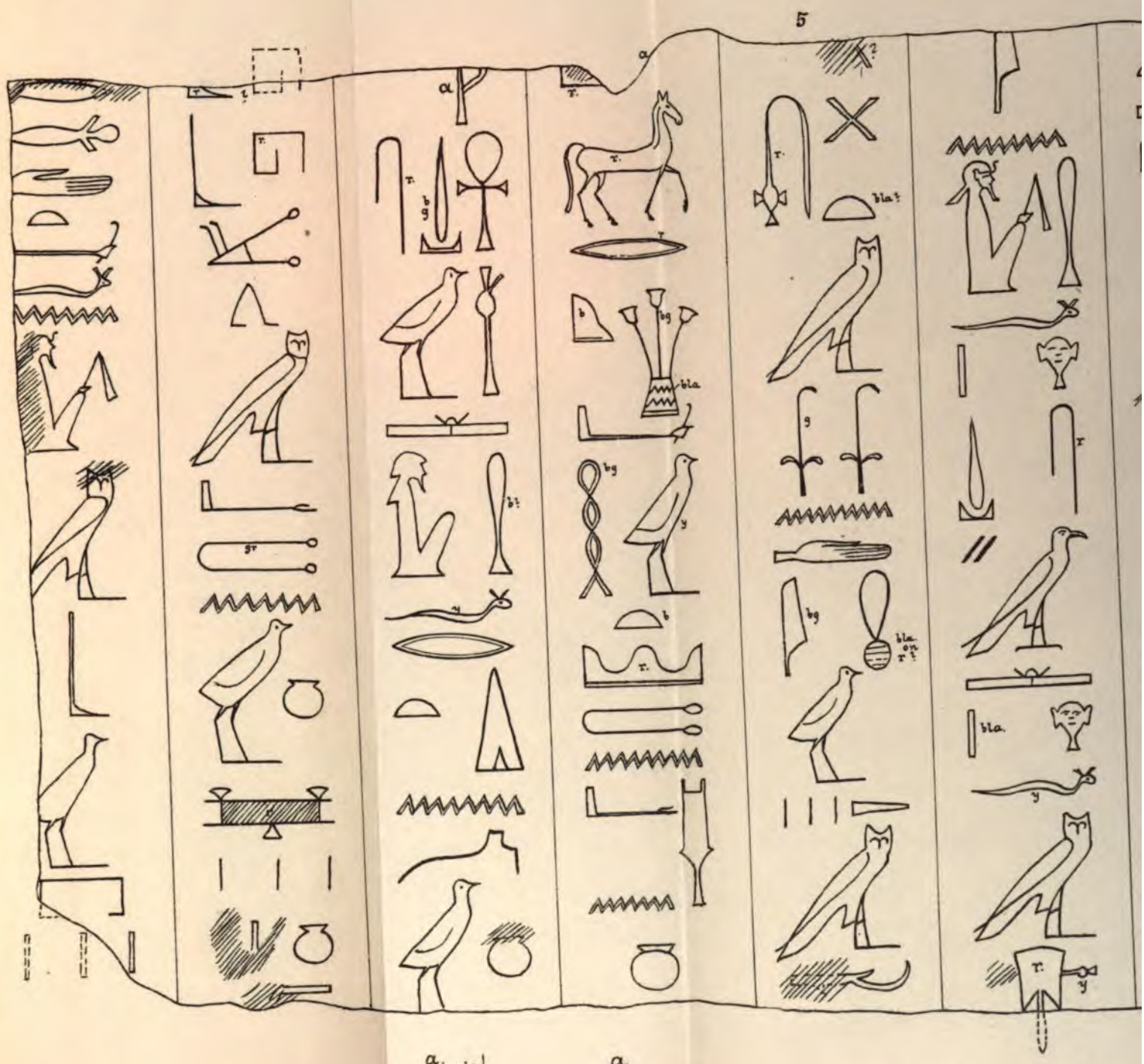
7ª like ⟨—, somewhat higher.



HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION OF A KING OF DYNAS

MUSEUM OF CAIR

ANDREW W. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, W



a. sic! not

a. like but free space on the

FRAGMENT OF A HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION.
MUSEUM OF CAIRO.

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

5

1a almost like (but !)

b head ?

1c space for // in hole.

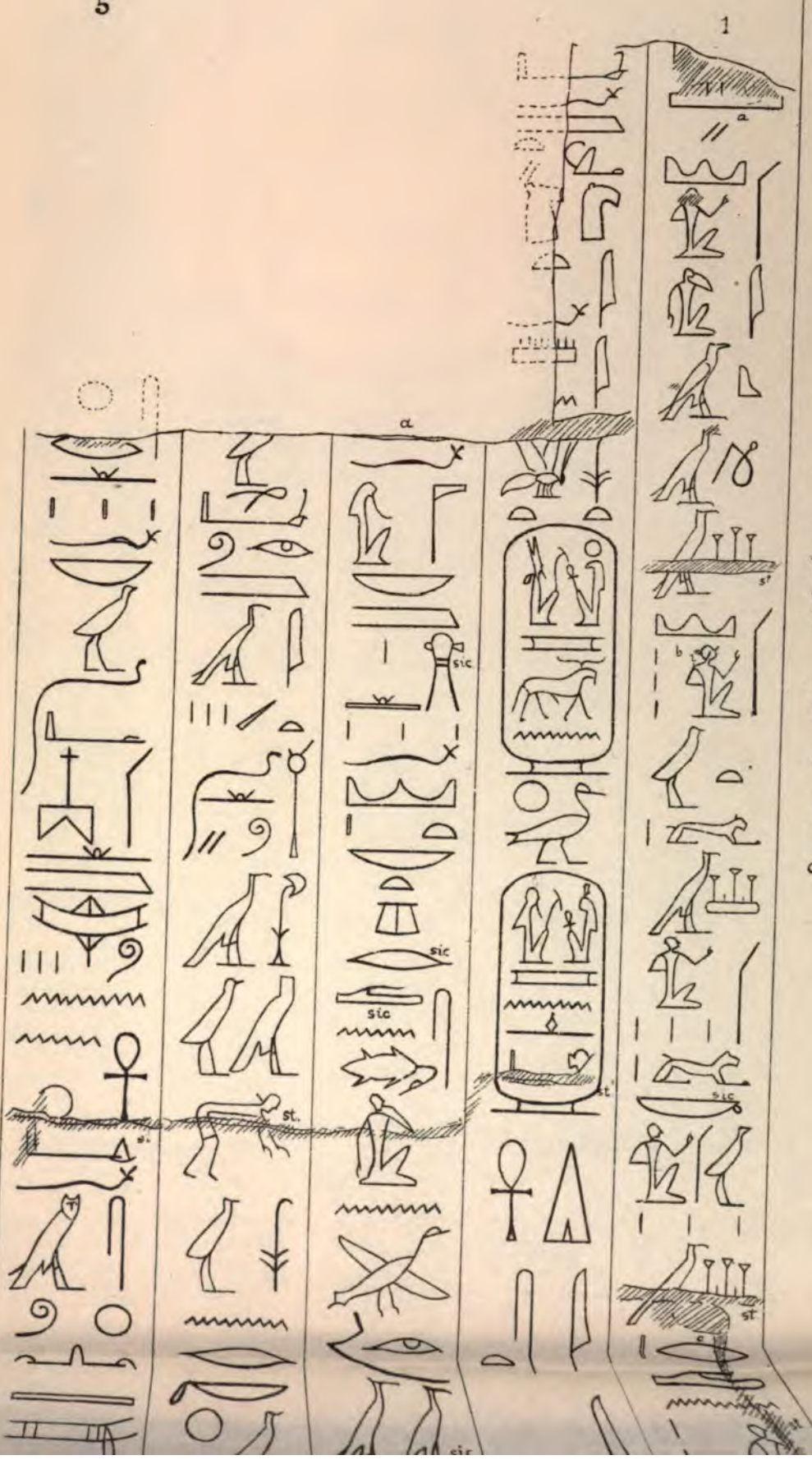
2a like but may be , cp. l.3 e.g.

2b ?

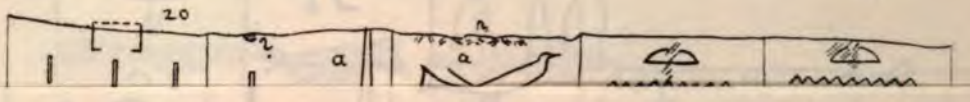
2c ? below a broad sign, perhaps, after space.

3a ?

3b the small later addition ?

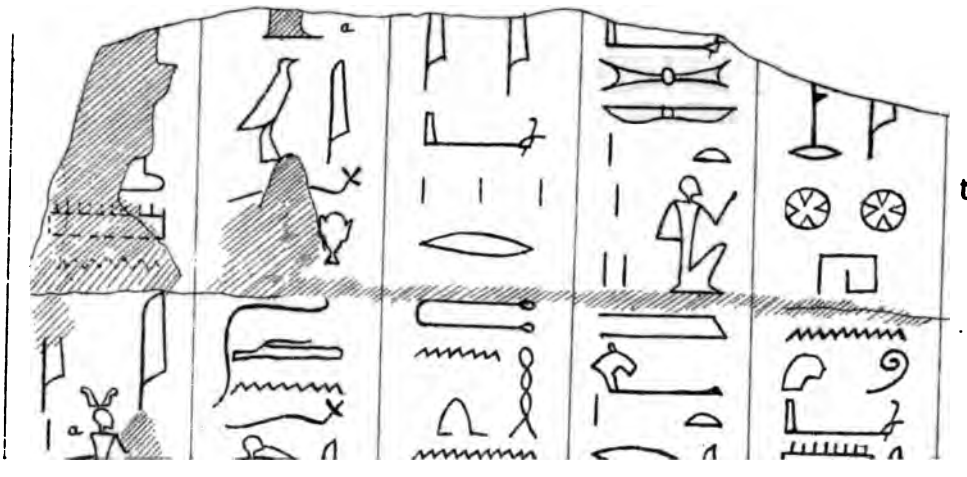


20 16



30

26

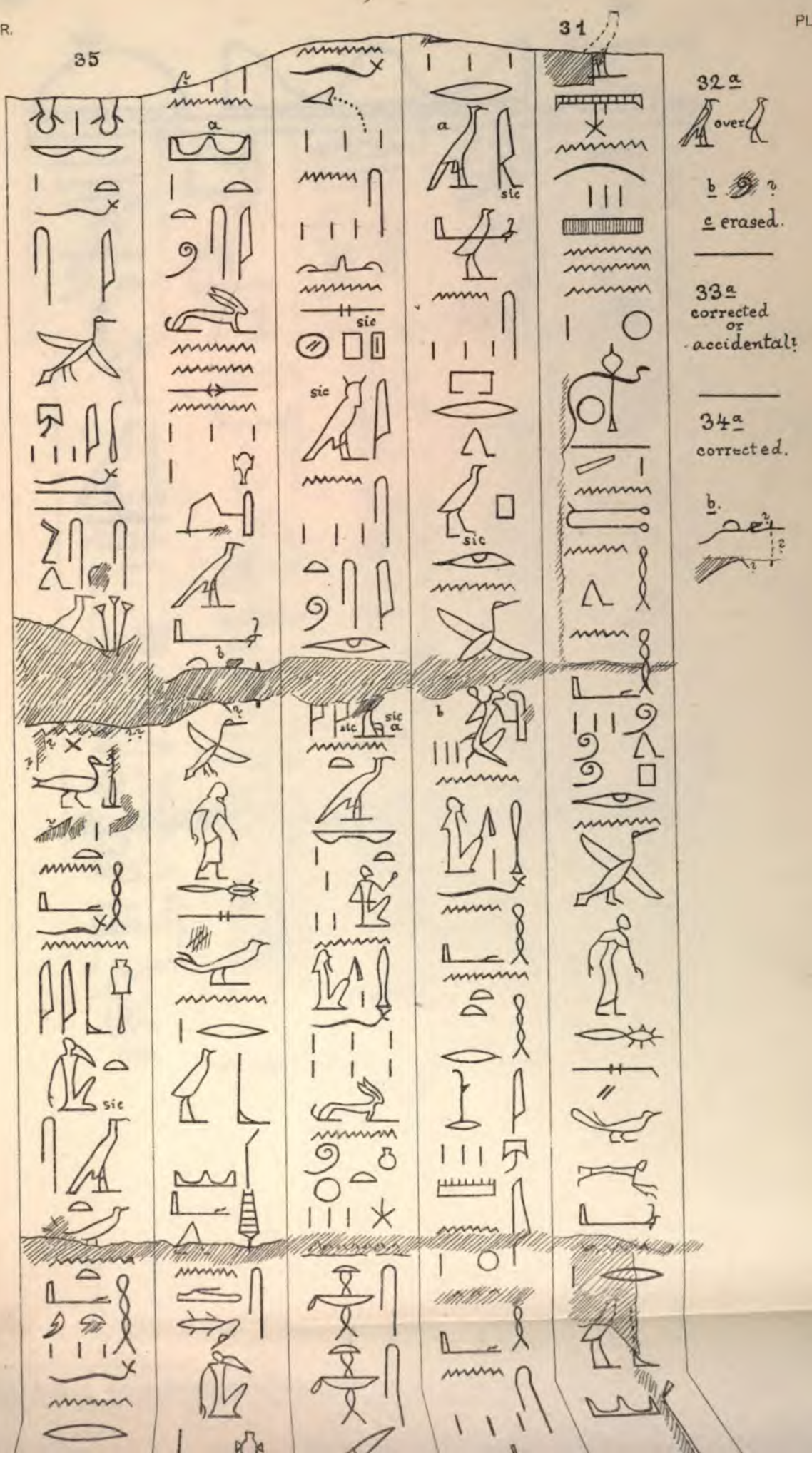


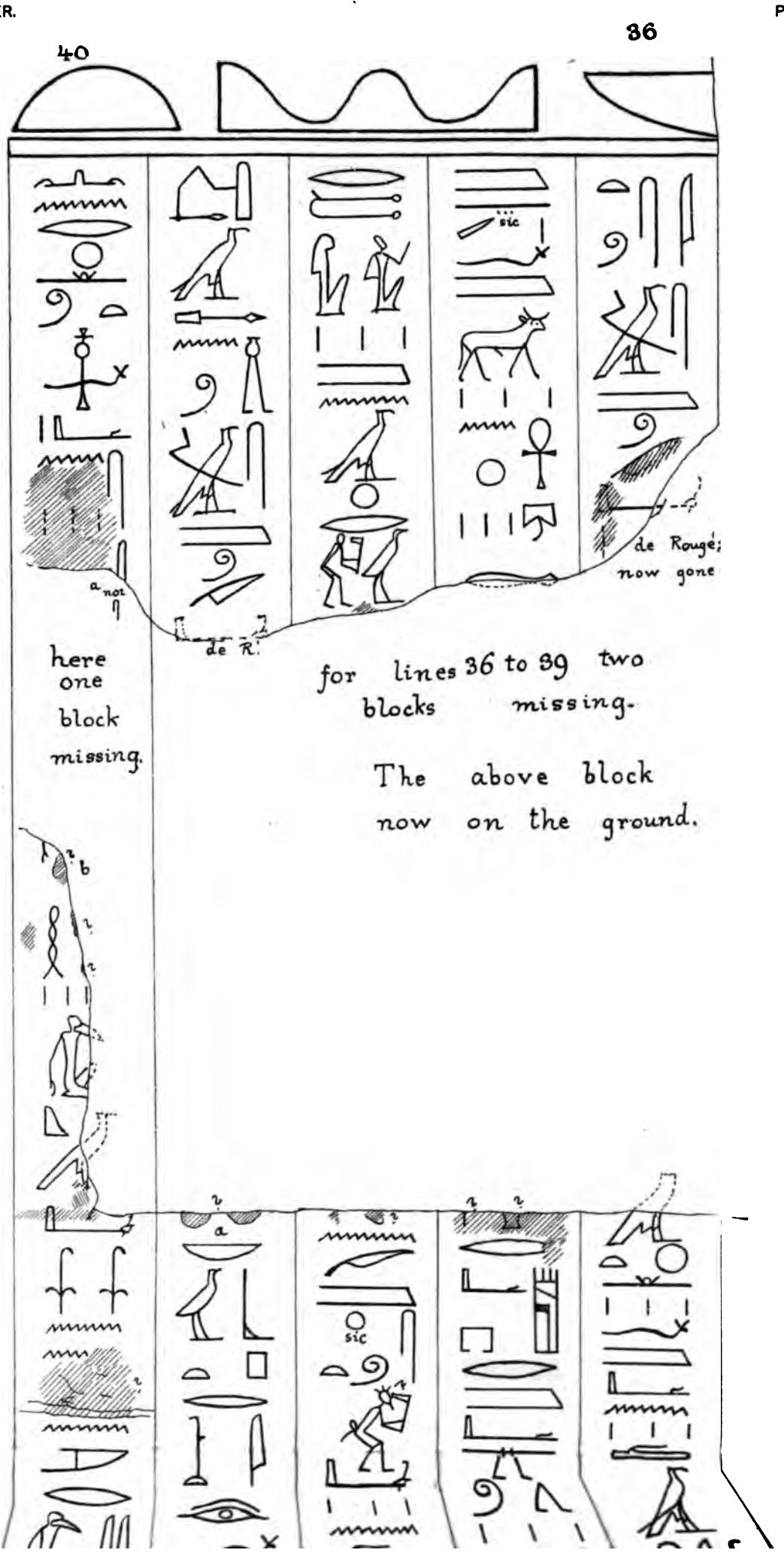
26a too narrow for

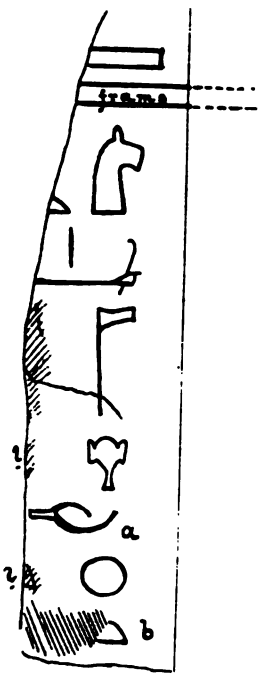
26b or ?

30 26

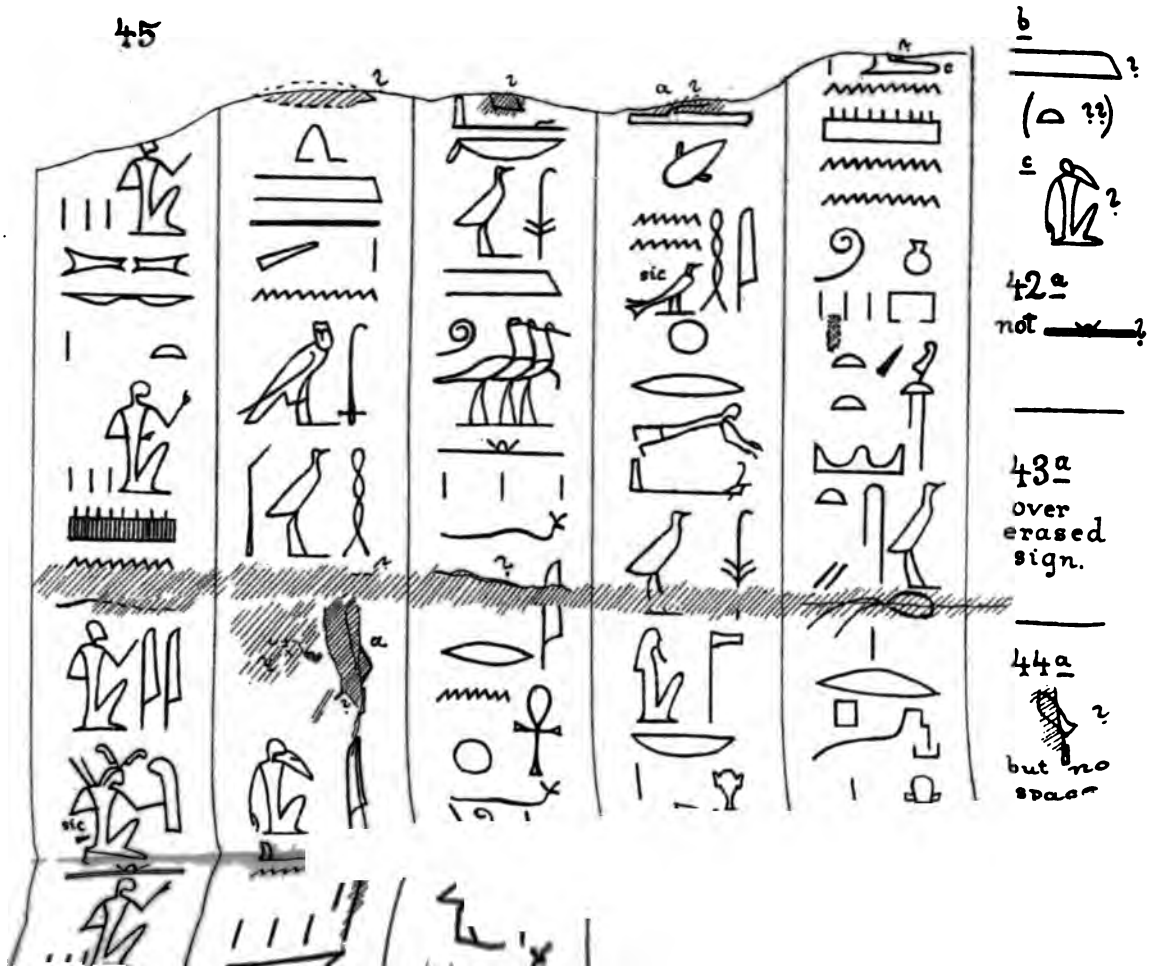
26a
too narrow
for
26b or
?
28a space
in the frac
ture for a
small ?
29a rather
than
30a
unfinished.
sic
sic


35
31
32 a
over
b ?
c erased.
33 a
corrected
or
accidental?
34 a
corrected.
b.
sic


40
36
sic
de Rougé; now gone
a not
de R.
here one block missing.
for lines 36 to 39 two blocks missing.
The above block now on the ground.
b
a
sic



one block missing.



41a rather than

b

(?)

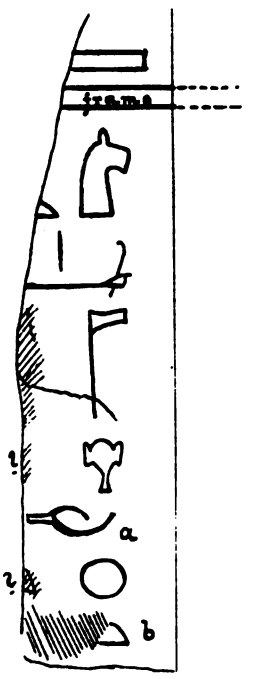
c

42a not

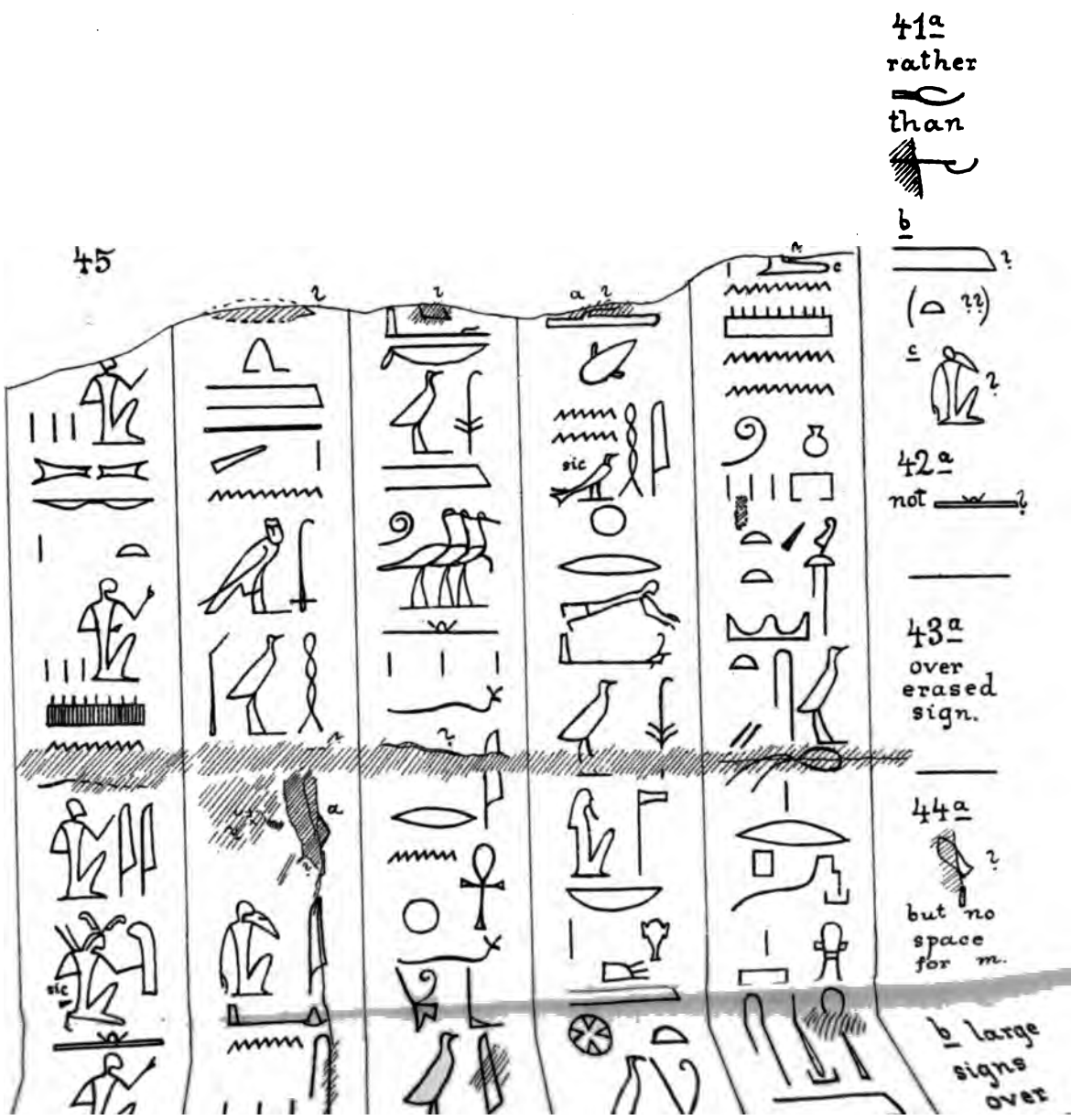
43a over erased sign.

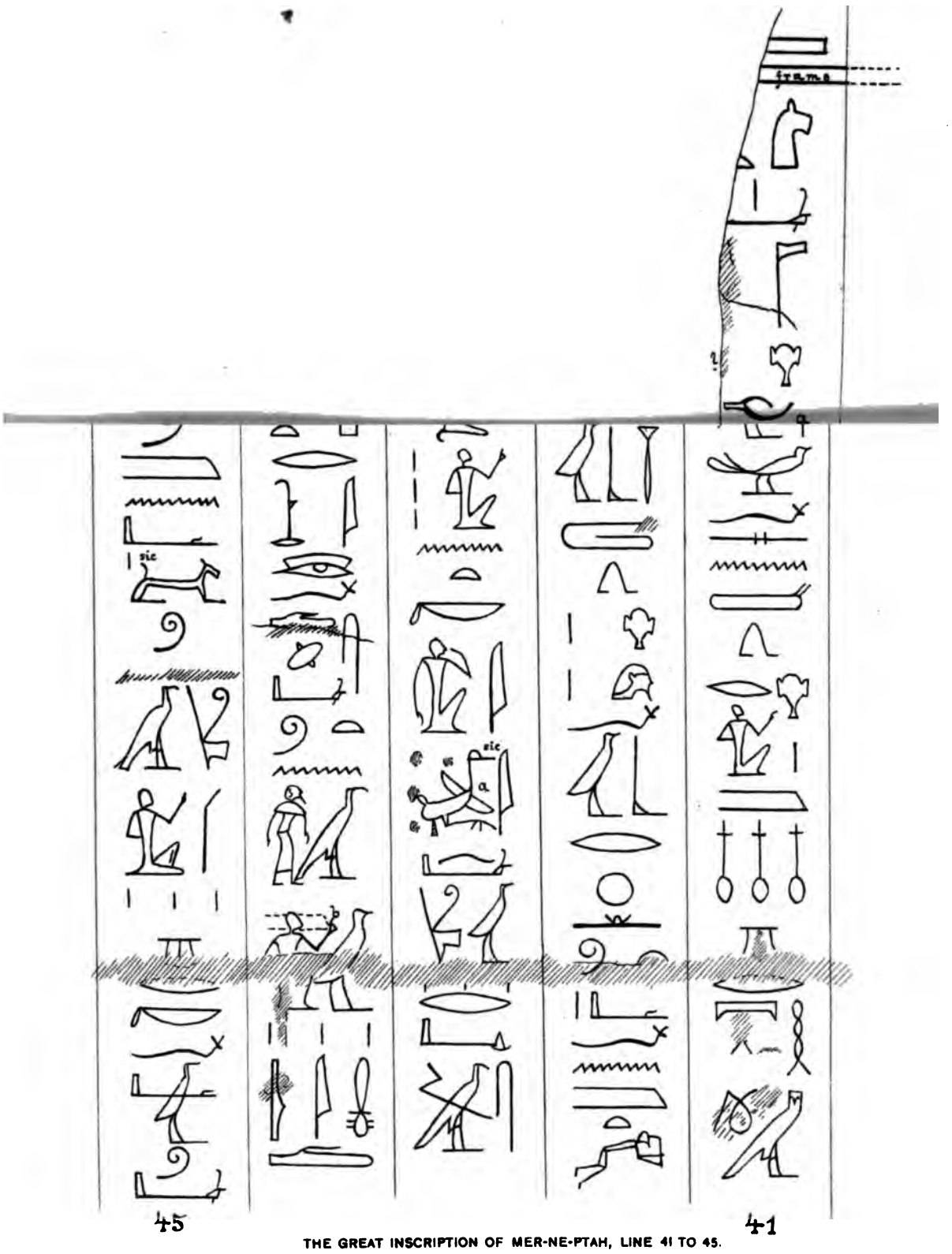
44a

but no space



one block missing.

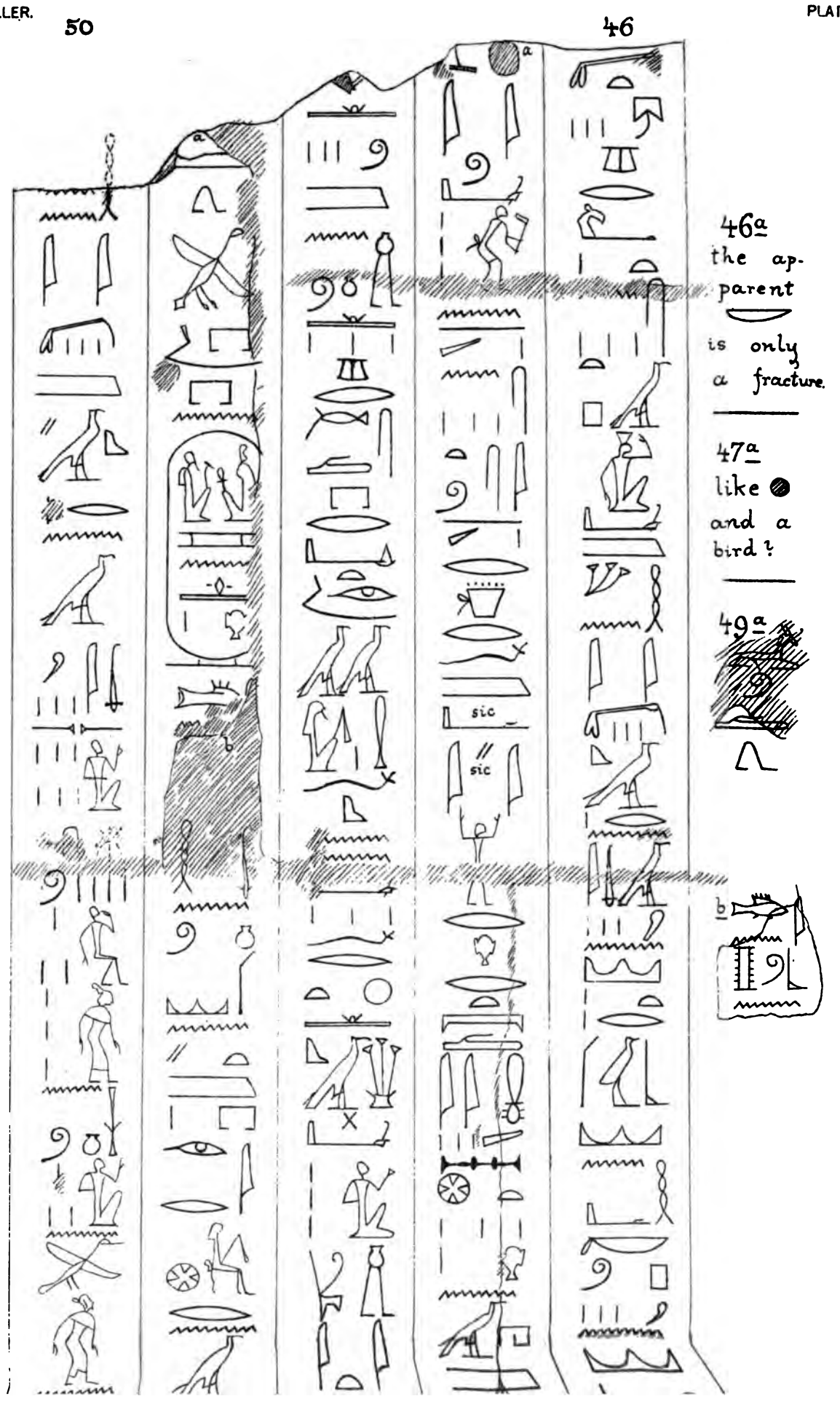




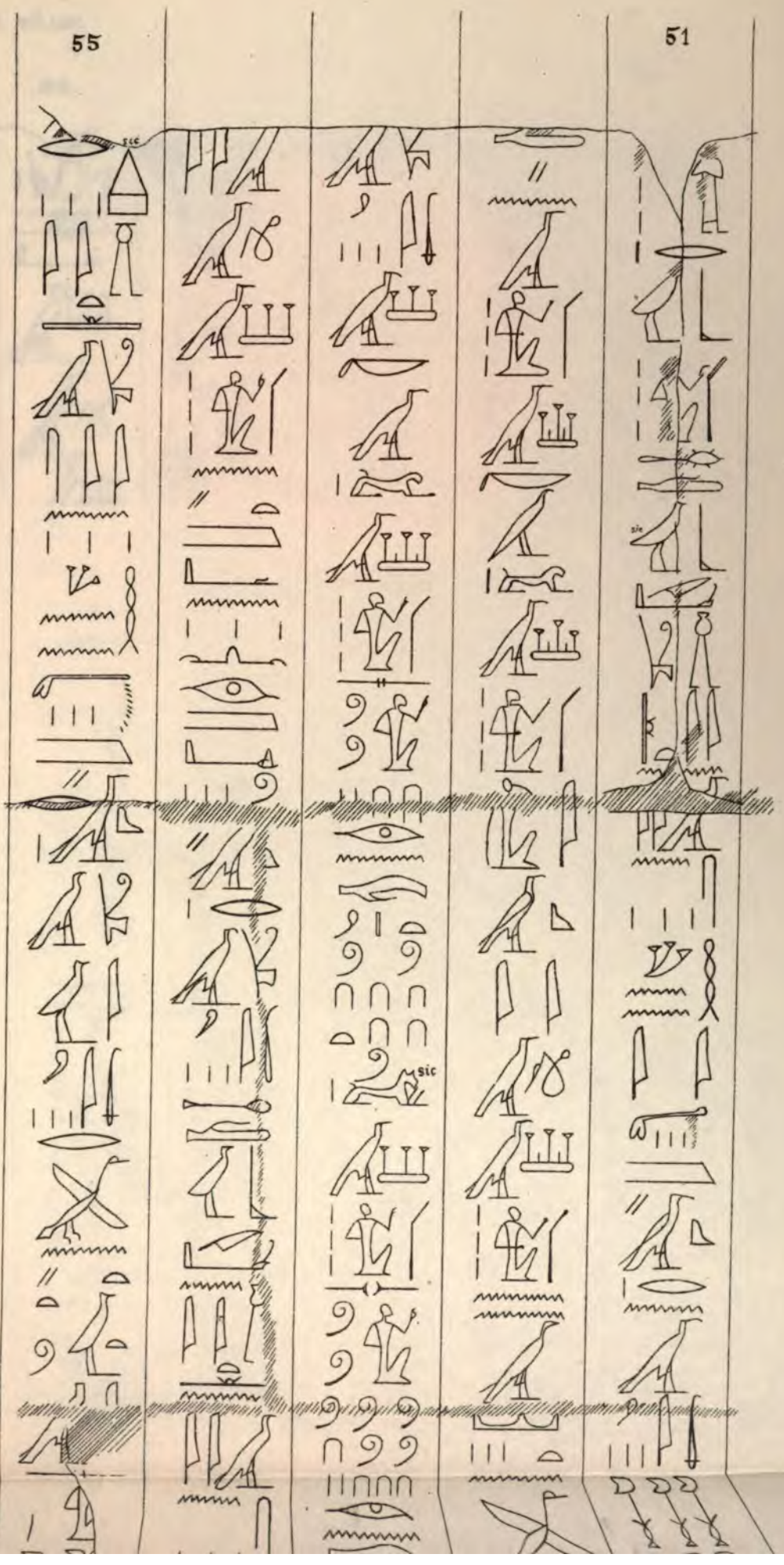
THE GREAT INSCRIPTION OF MER-NE-PTAH, LINE 41 TO 45.

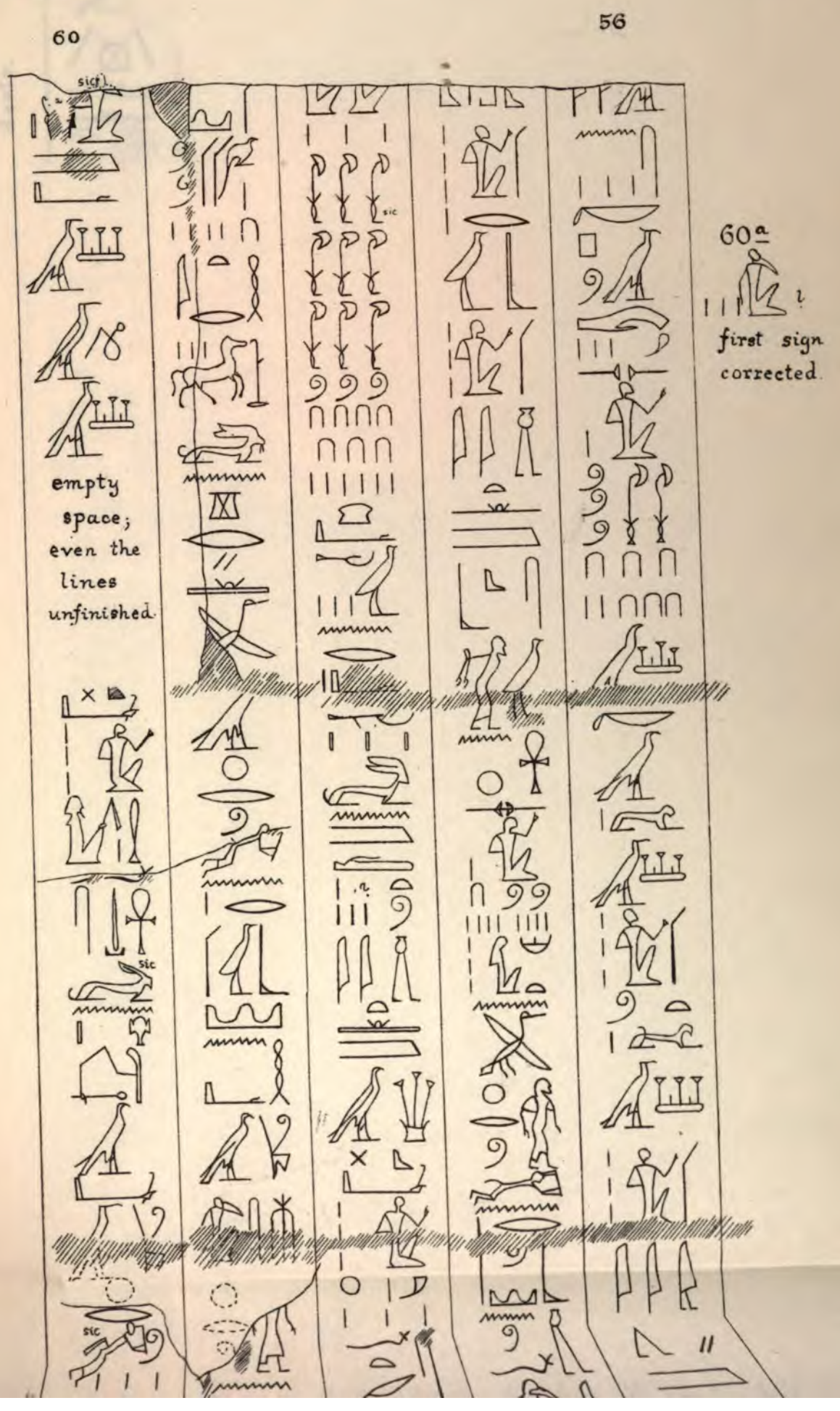
KARNAK.

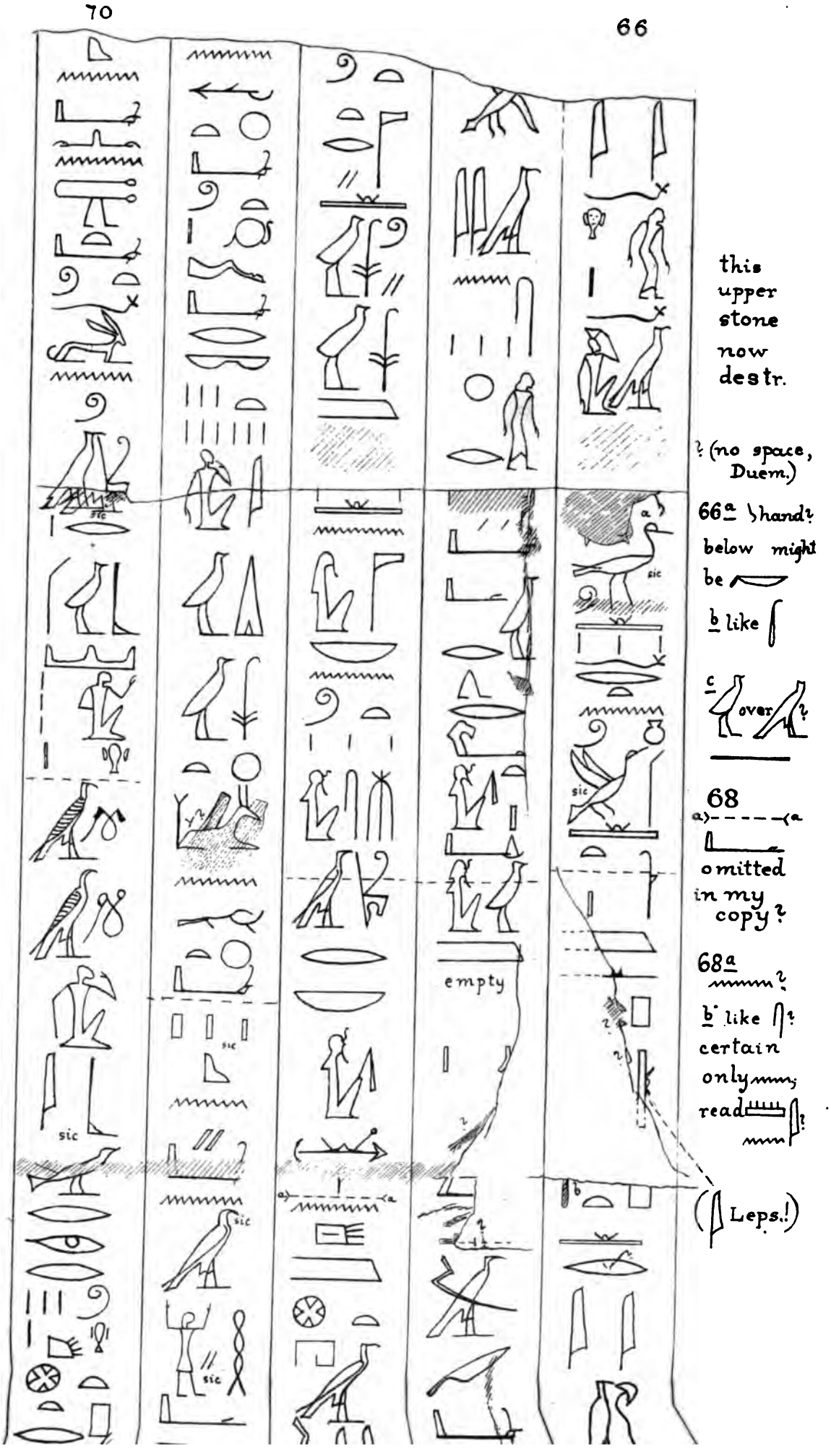
ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.


50
46
46a
the apparent
is only a fracture.
47a
like
and a bird?
49a
sic
sic
b

KARNAK.


55
51
sic


60
56
sic
sic
sic
sic
60a
first sign corrected
empty space; even the lines unfinished



this upper stone now destr.

? (no space, Duem.)

66a hand? below might be

b like

c over ?

68

a a

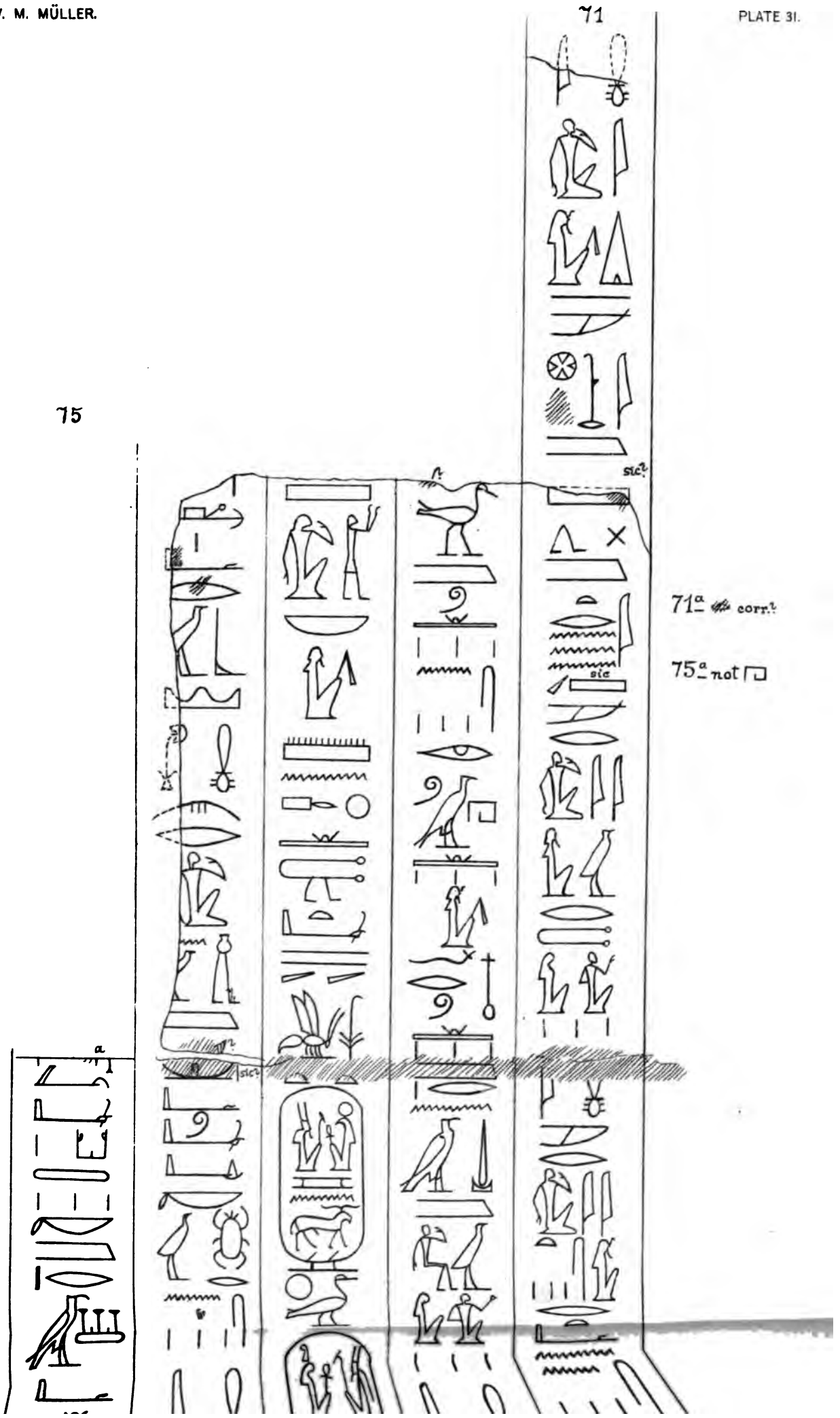
omitted in my copy?

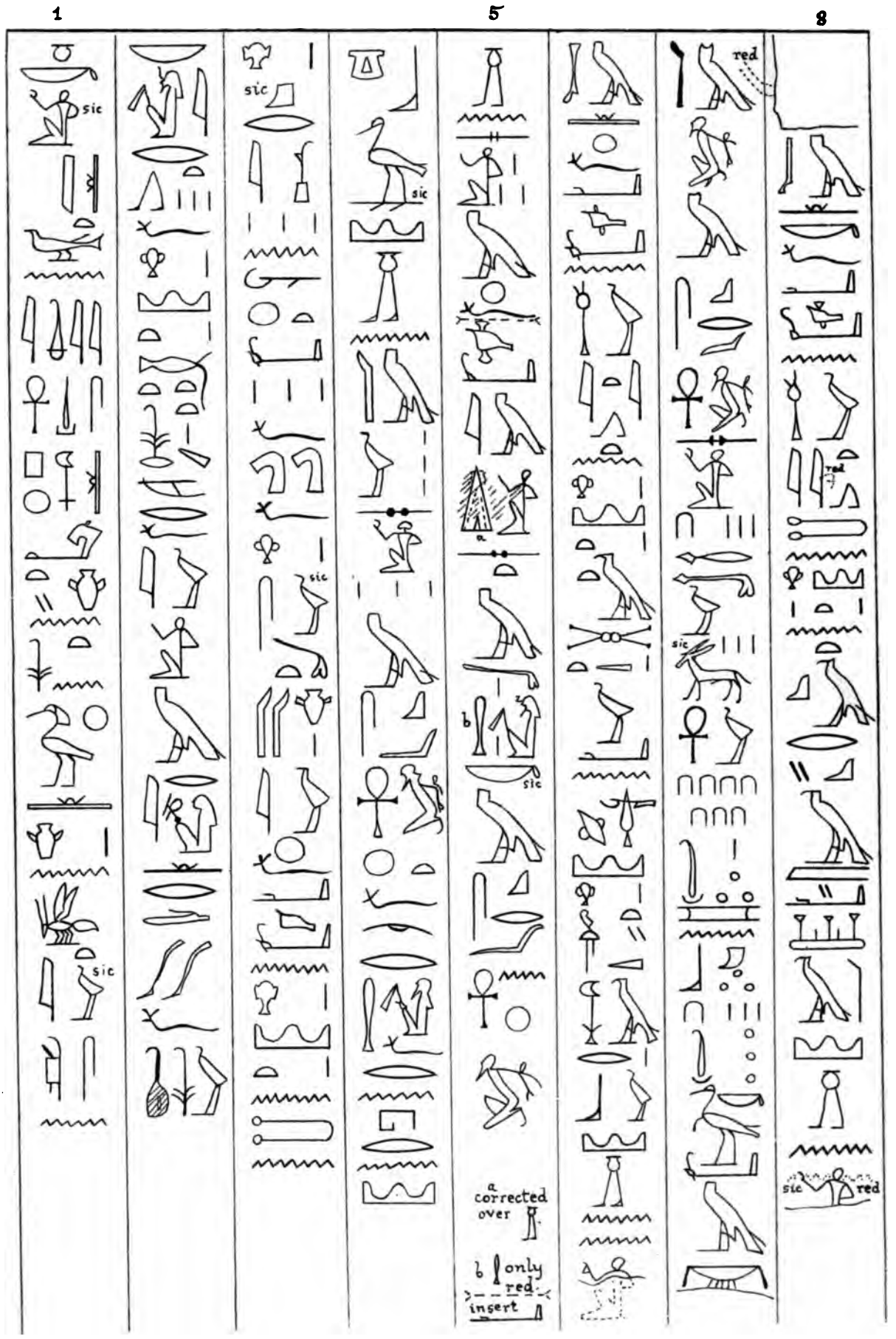
68a ?

b like ?

certain only ; read ?

(Leps.!)

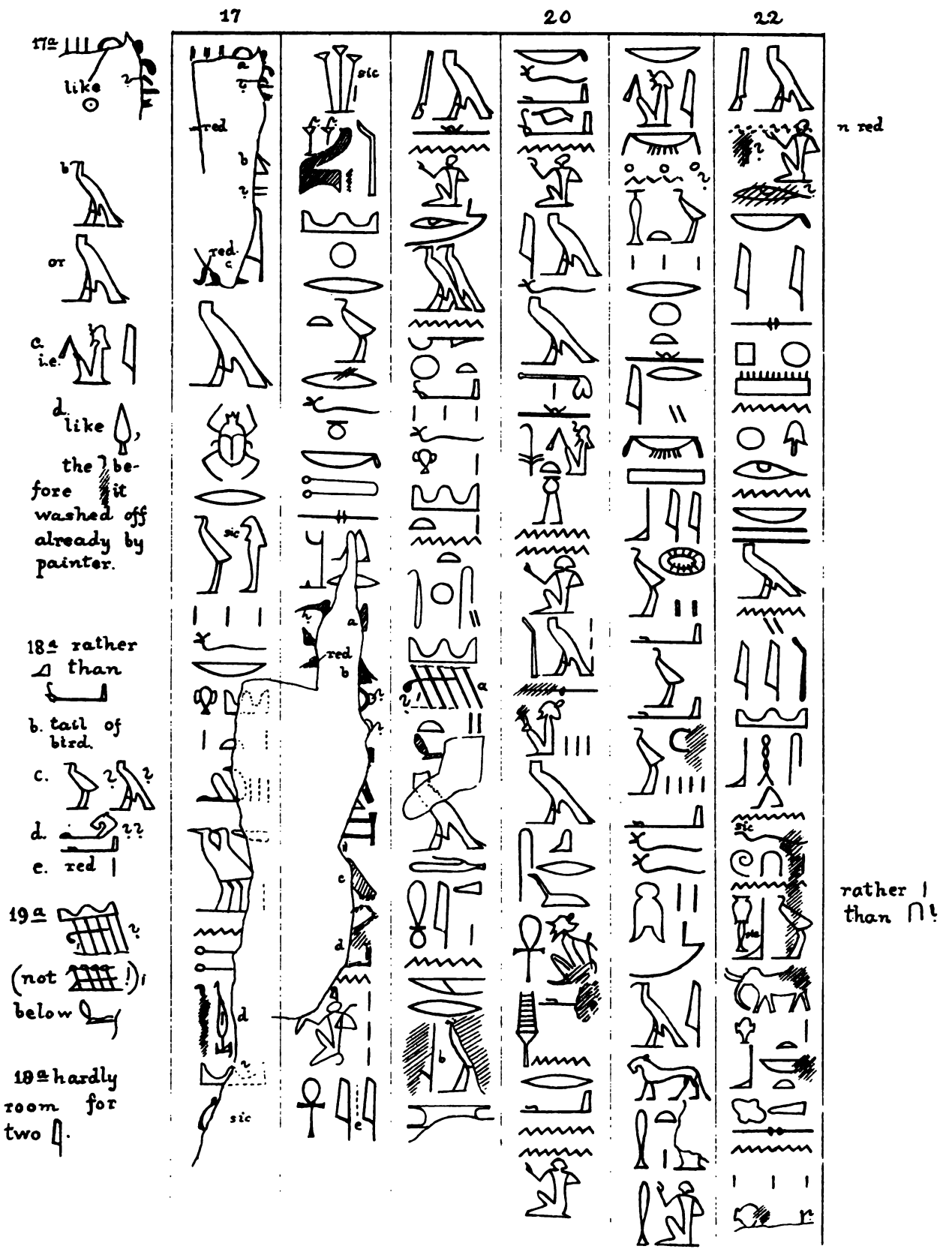

71
75
sic?
sic
sic?
a
71a corr.?
75a not



line complete.

THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB, LINE 1 TO 8.

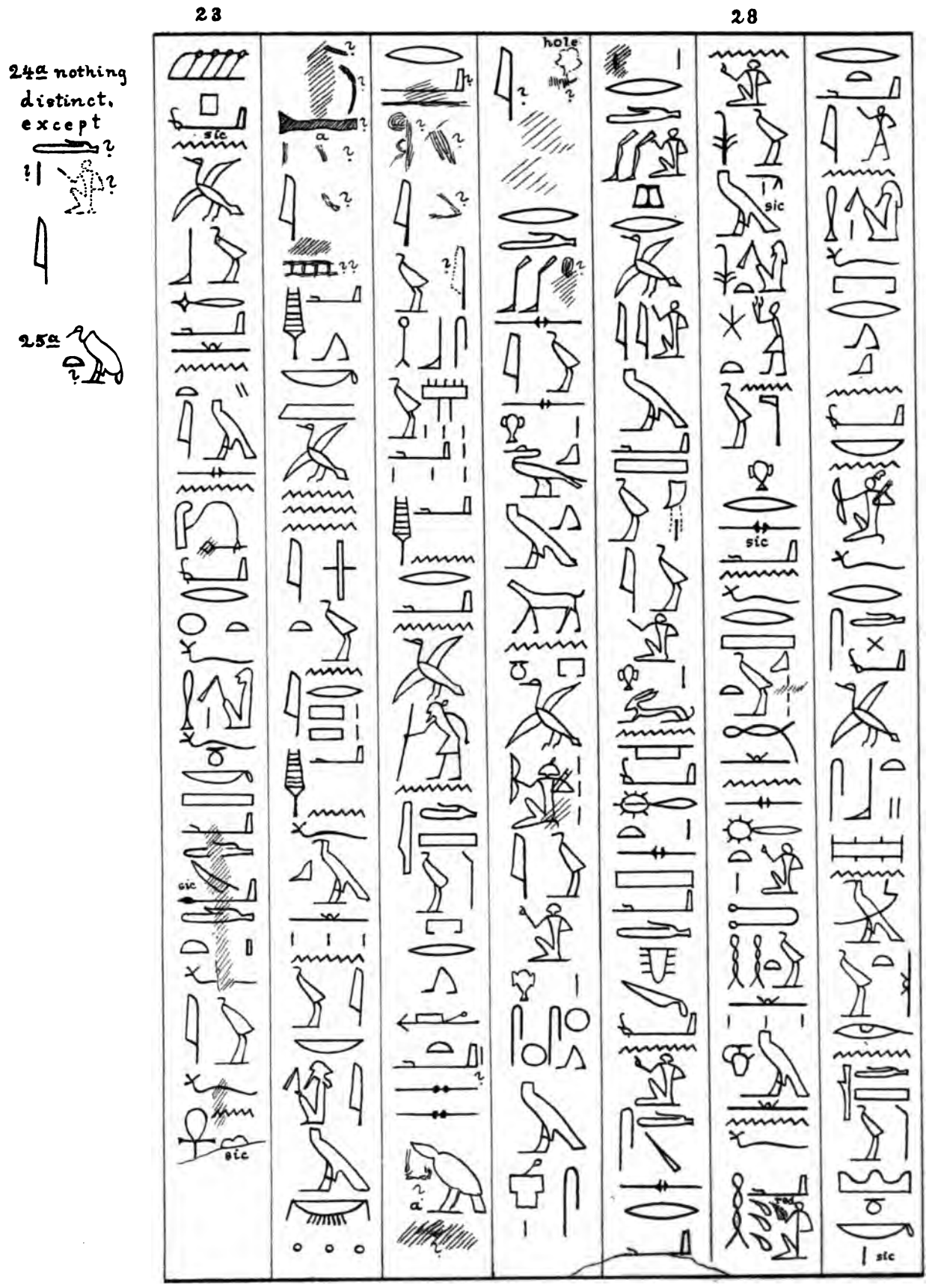
TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.



THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB, LINE 17 TO 22.

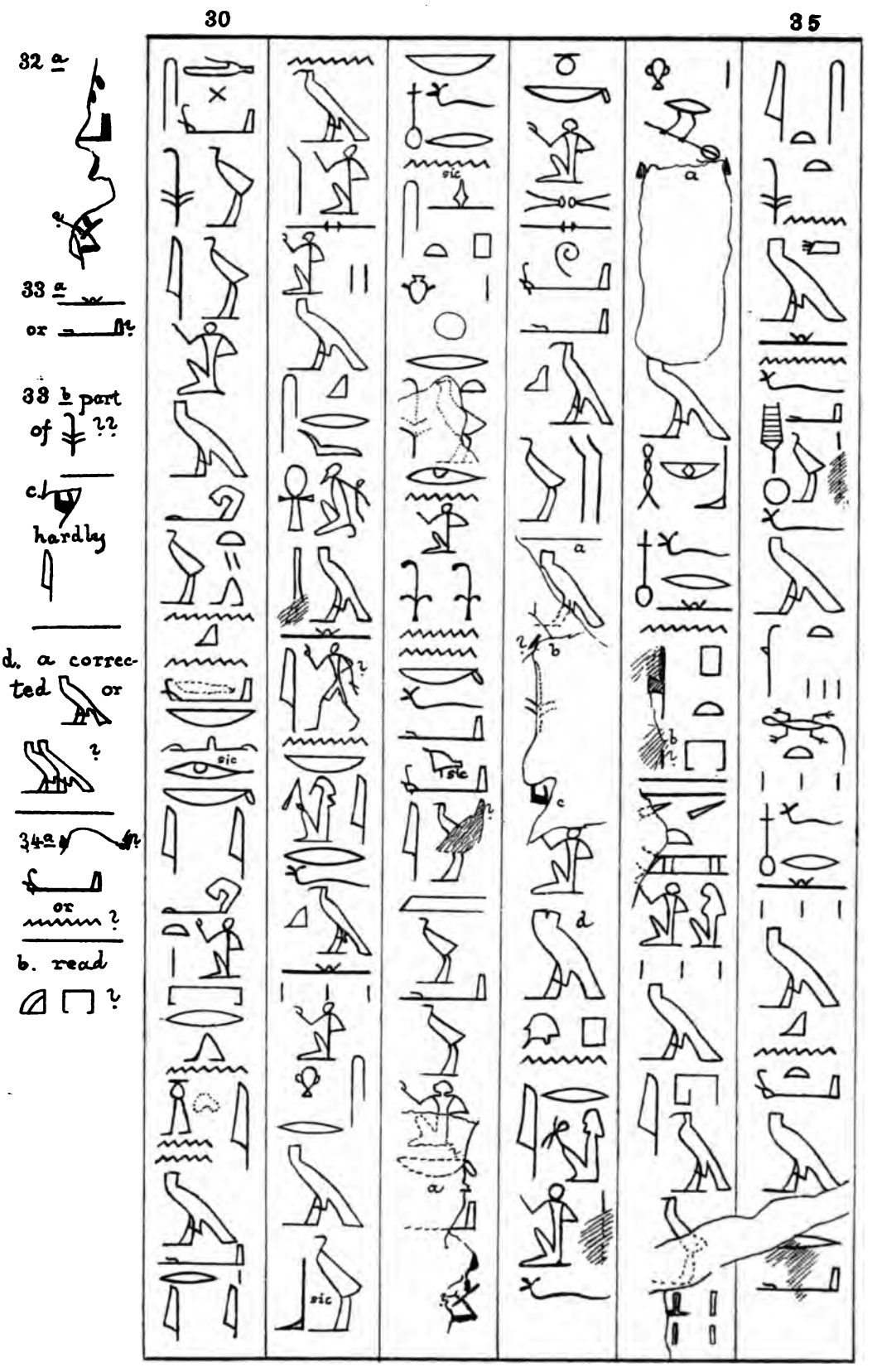
TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS WASHINGTON D. C.



THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB, LINE 23 TO 29.

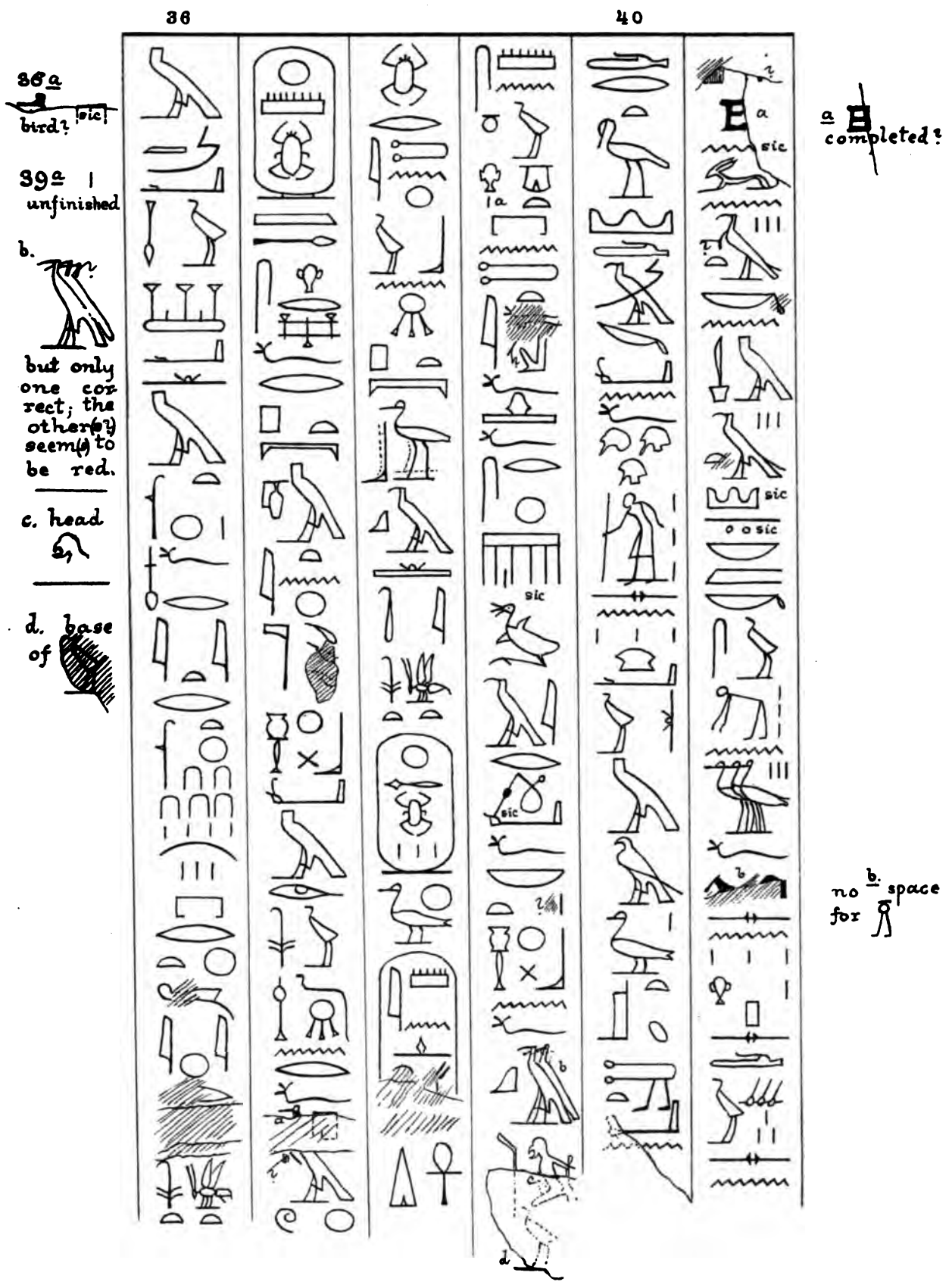
TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.



THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB, LINE 30 TO 35

TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.

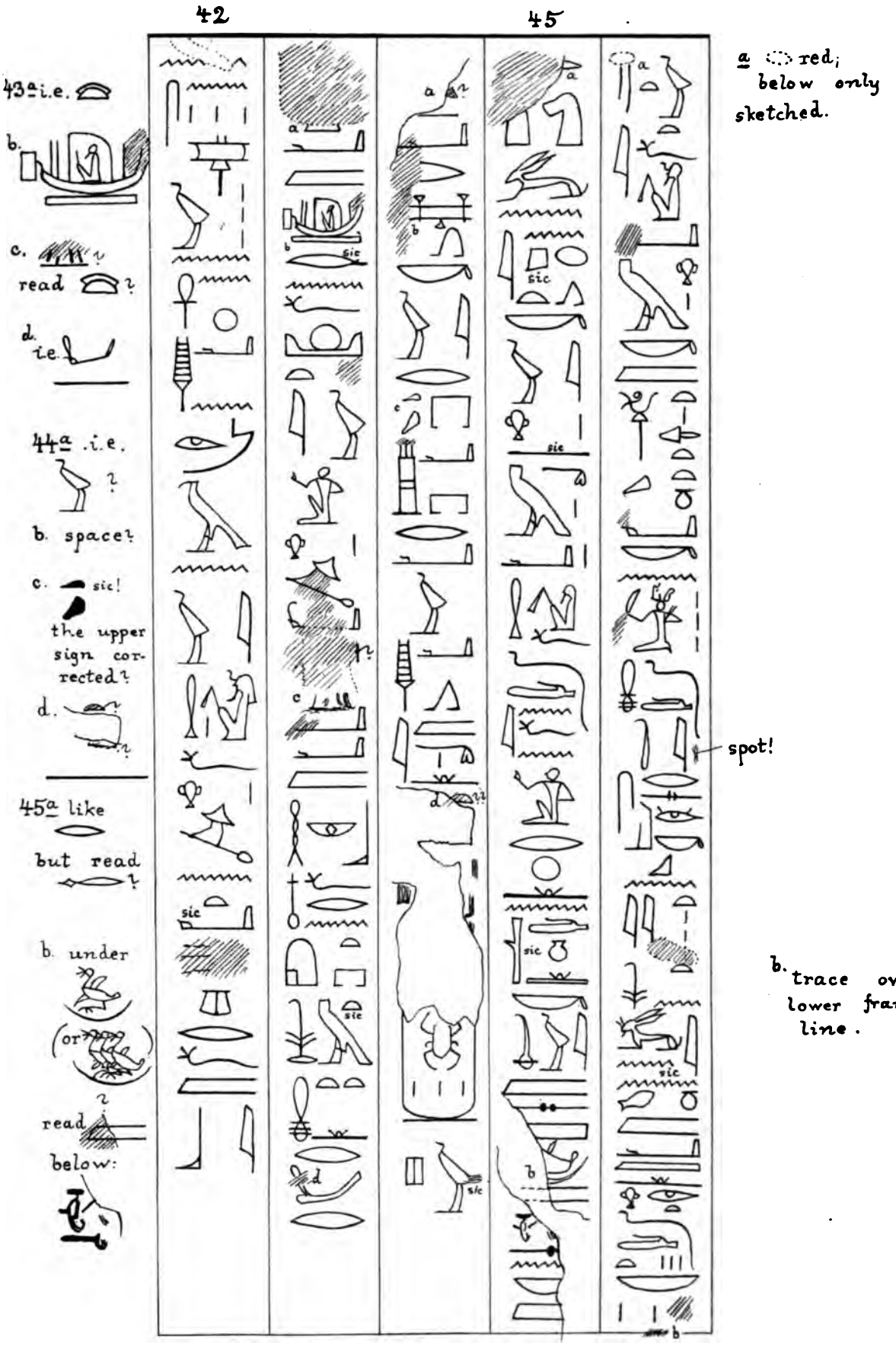
ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB, LINE 36 TO 41.

TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



THE LIFE OF THE OFFICER AMEN-EM-HEB, LINE 42 TO 46.

TOMB IN WESTERN THEBES.

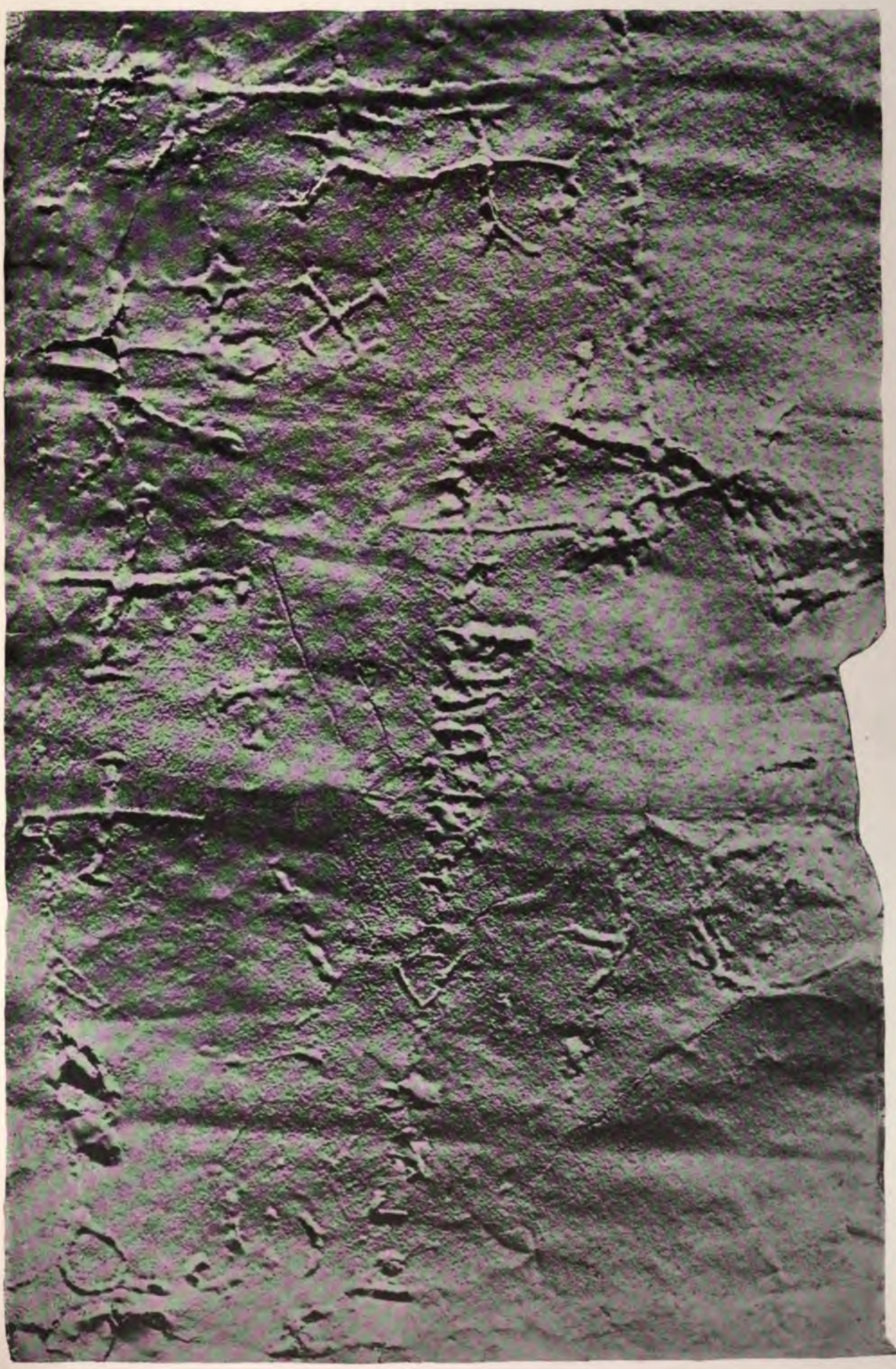
ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

SEMITIC DIVINITIES IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM.

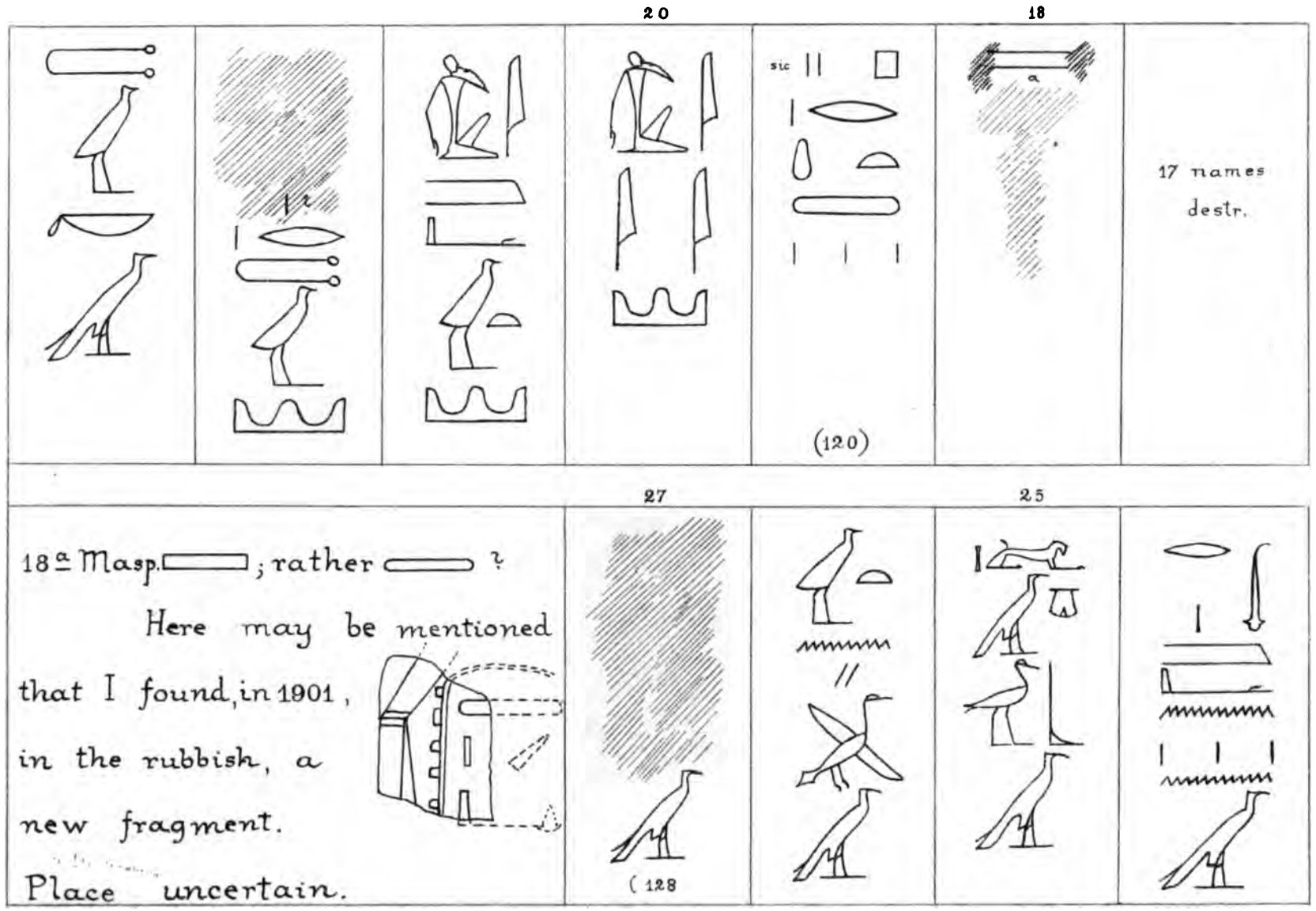
HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.

POLE CLIMBING BY NUBIANS.
KARNAK.

HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.



INSCRIPTION IN UNKNOWN (?) CHARACTERS.
KARNAK.



THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN NORTHERN SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III. 1ST. ROW.
KARNAK.

46 a pr

47 a po

for a

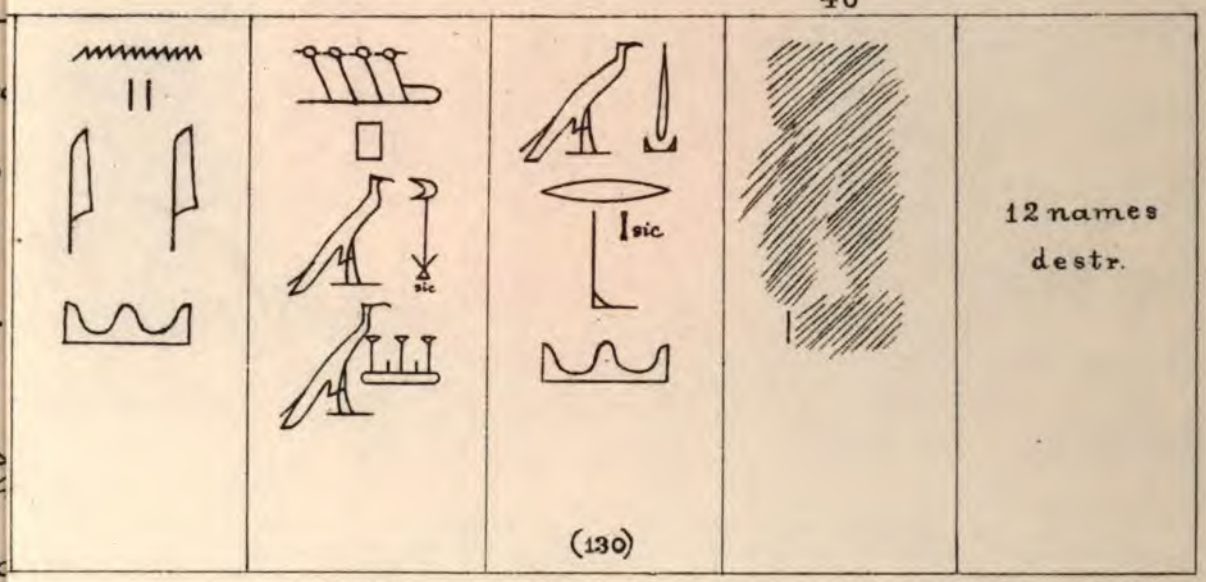
58 a str

or

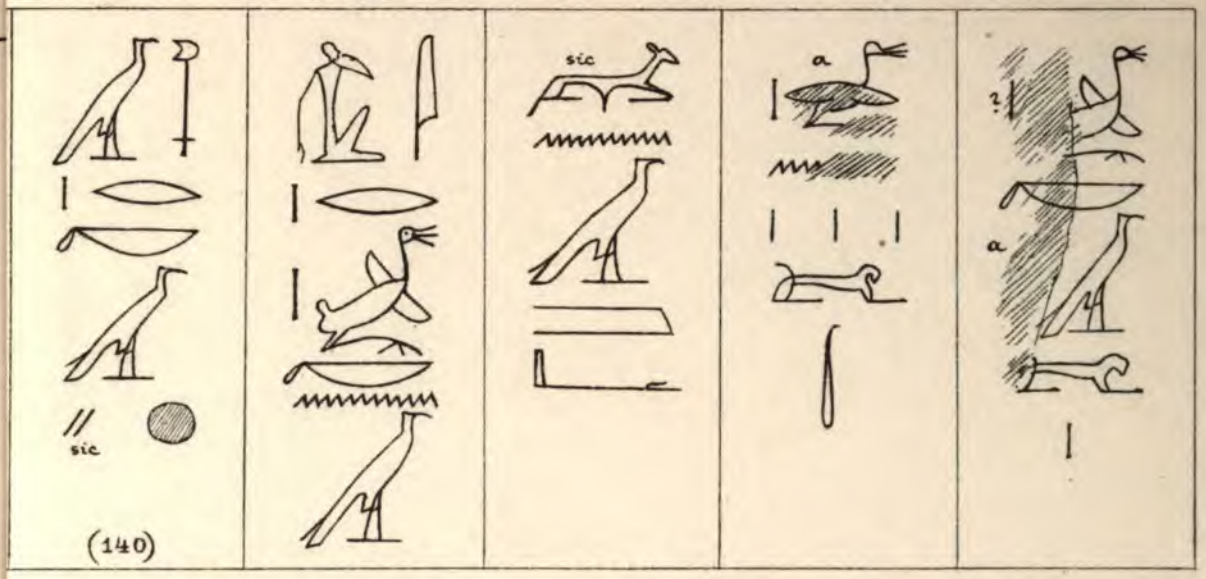
over

52 a n

40



50



2 nd row

ONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III, 2ND ROW.

NAK.

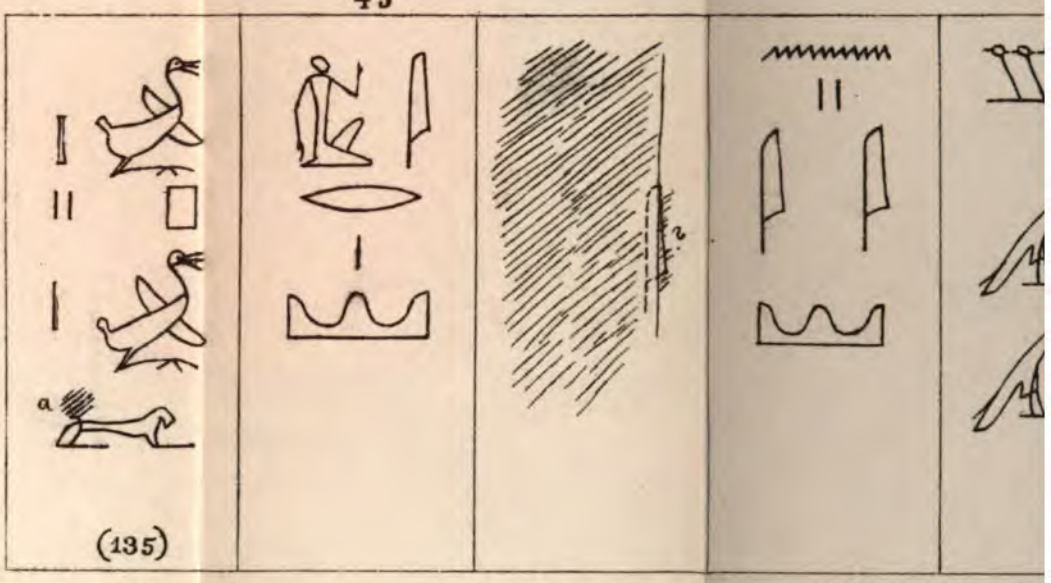
46 a probably no 1.

47 a possibly space for a small sign(?).

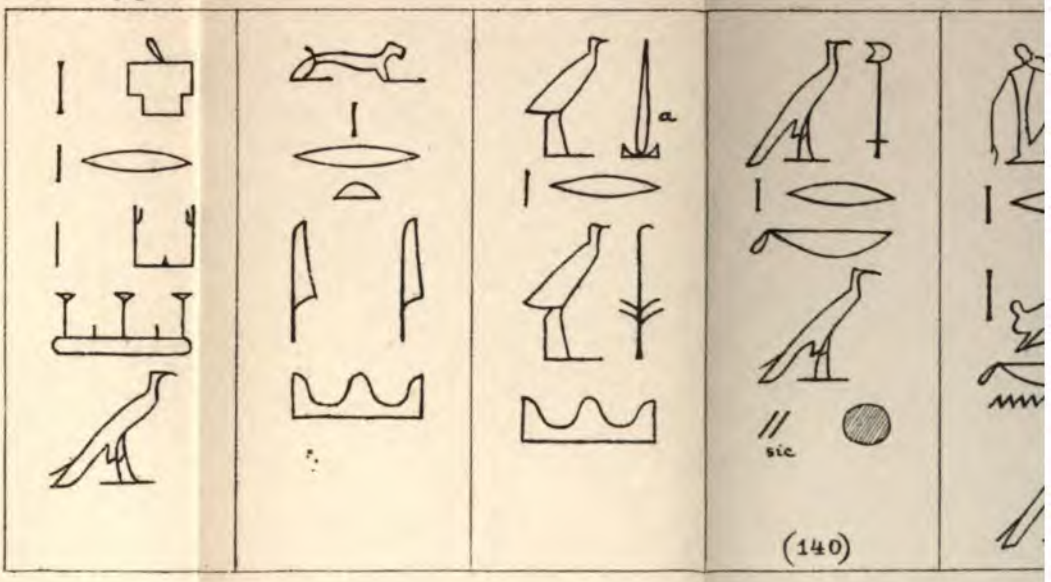
58 a strange; over or rather over ?

52 a not

45



54

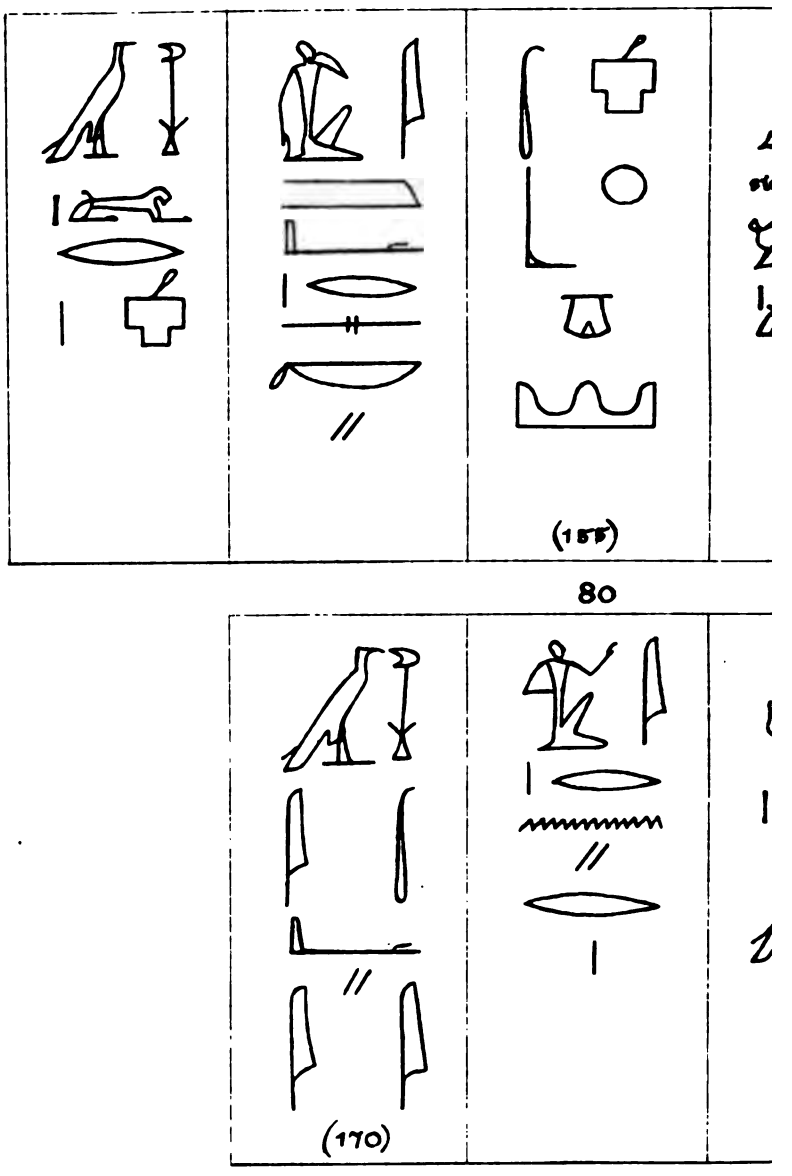


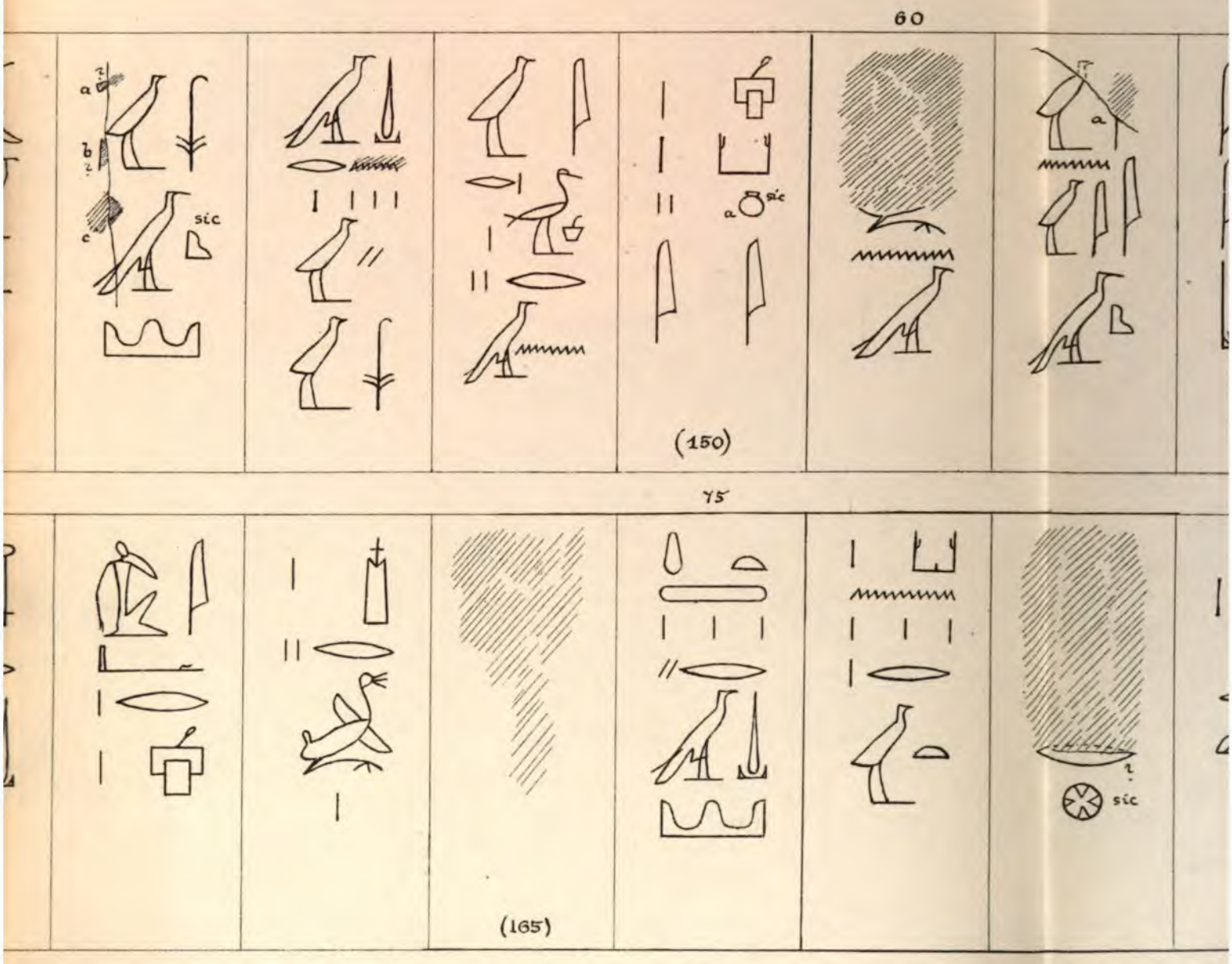
2 nd row

THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN N. SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III, 2ND RO

KARNAK.

56 a very small ? (Gol. 1).
59 a seems to be a (Gol.); lower part very long (cp. Masp. 1).
61 a (Gol.); emend ? (cp. Masp.) or accidental?
64 a ? unusually small.
b clearly (not !) c accidental (like a & b ?).
69 a (Gol., Masp.) to be expected, but looks like





THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN NORTHERN SYRIA. CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III.

3RD ROW.

KARNAK.

W. M. M

56 a

59 a

lower

(cp. Mo

61 a

Masp.)

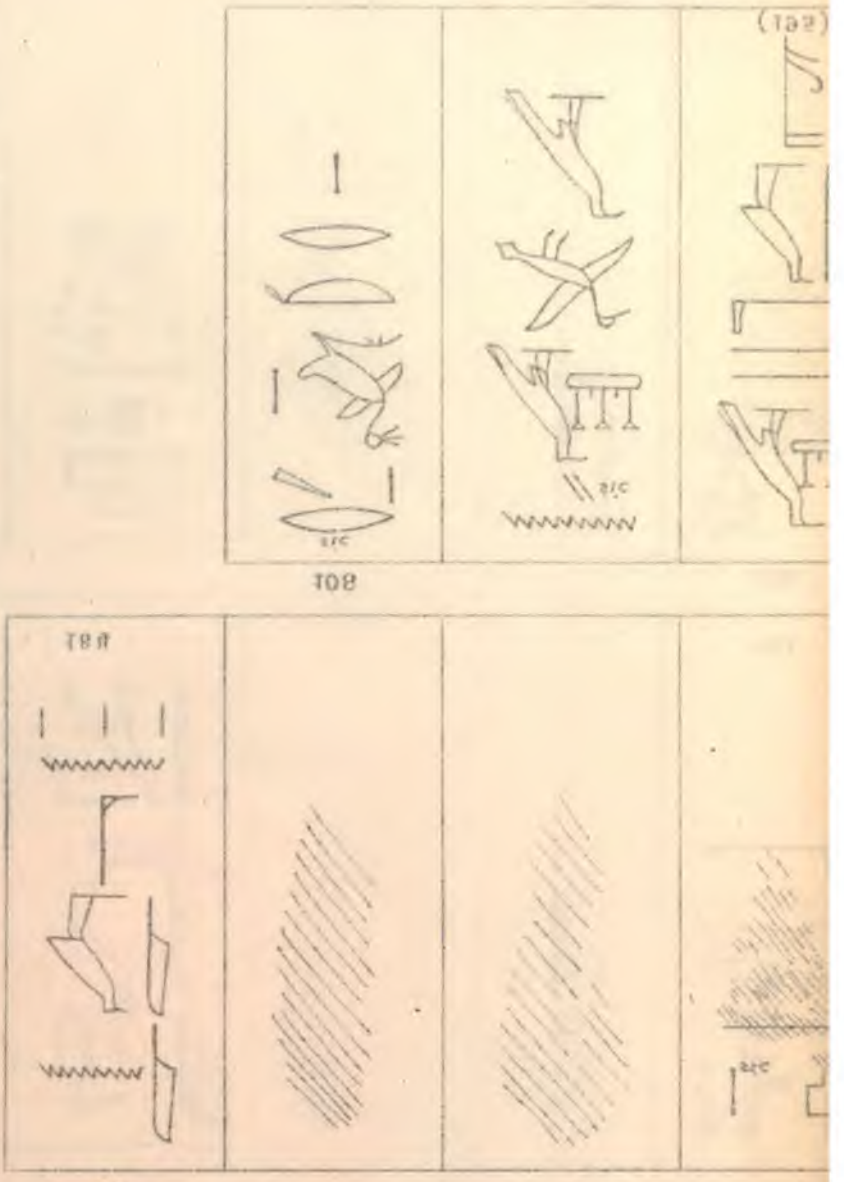
64 a

b clearl

acciden

69 a

expected



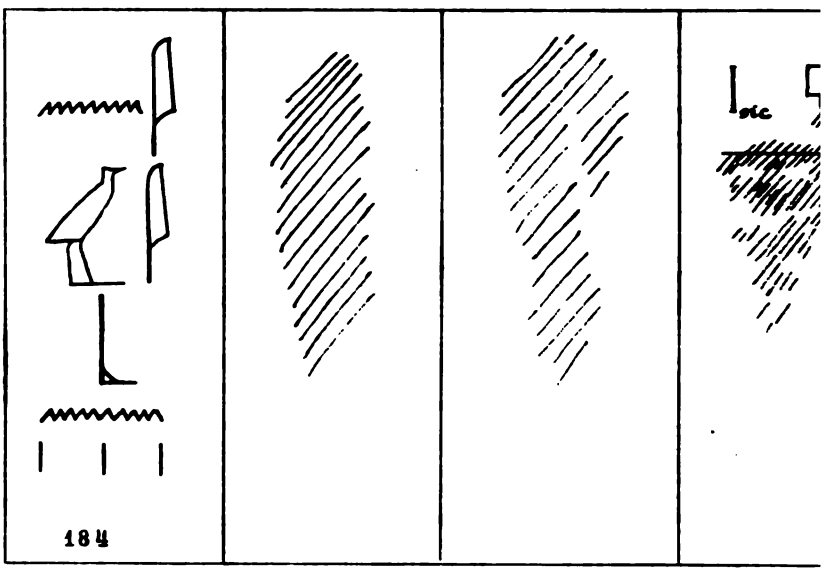
88 = above for one
forge drop.
88 = mirror (Col. Mirrors).
foot for ⊏ is a fraction
tool for ⊏ after
in the center
18 = flame for (Col.
Mirrors) and cobra
"i" if without "i"
part marked on re-
ference to the
other cobras! Berg
i

86 a space for one large group.

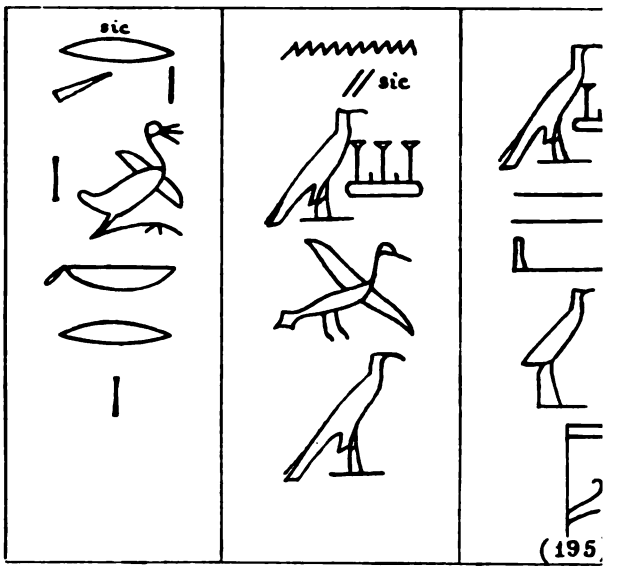
90 a what Col.&Masp. took for is a fracture; read or rather b in the center.

91 a thus for (Col., Masp.)? my copy gives it without "?" but makes no reference to the other copies; read ?

95



108



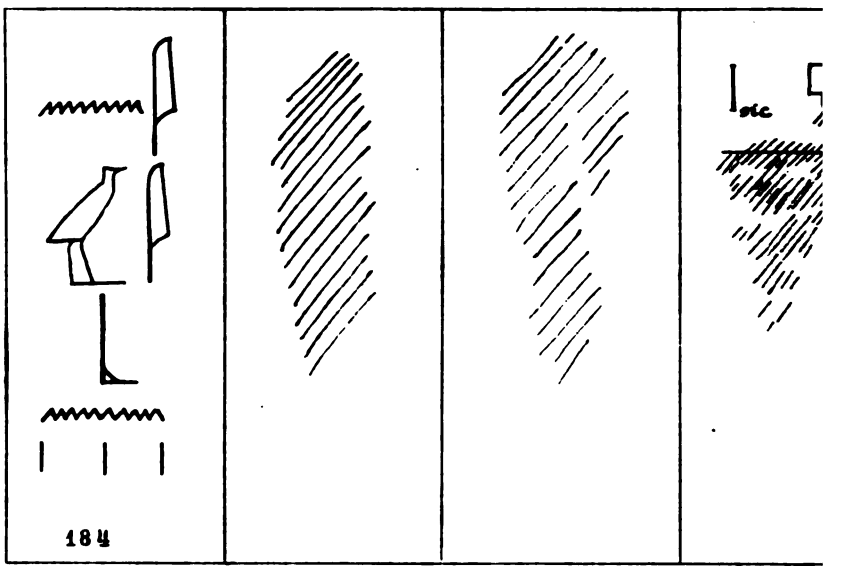
THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN

86 a space for one large group.

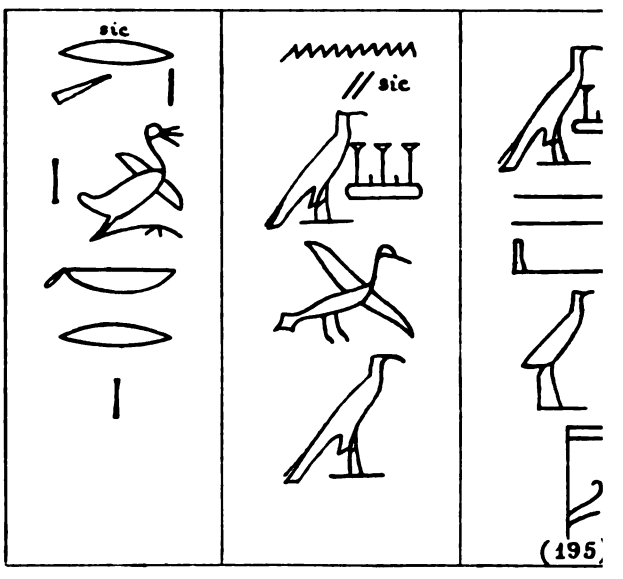
90 a what Col.&Masp. took for is a fracture; read for rather b in the center.

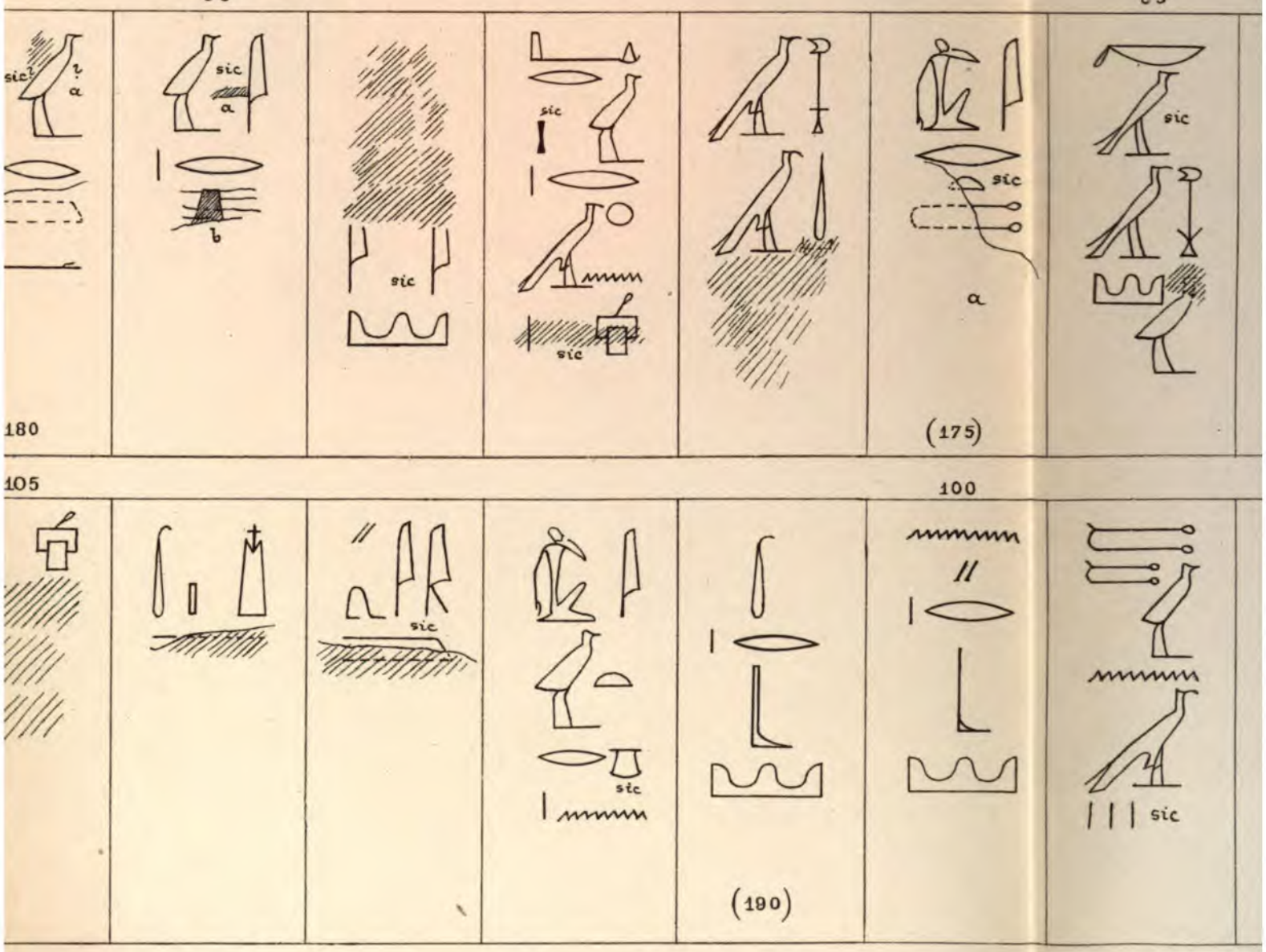
91 a thus for (Col., Masp.)? my copy gives it without "?" but makes no reference to the other copies; read ?

95



108





E GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN NORTHERN SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III.

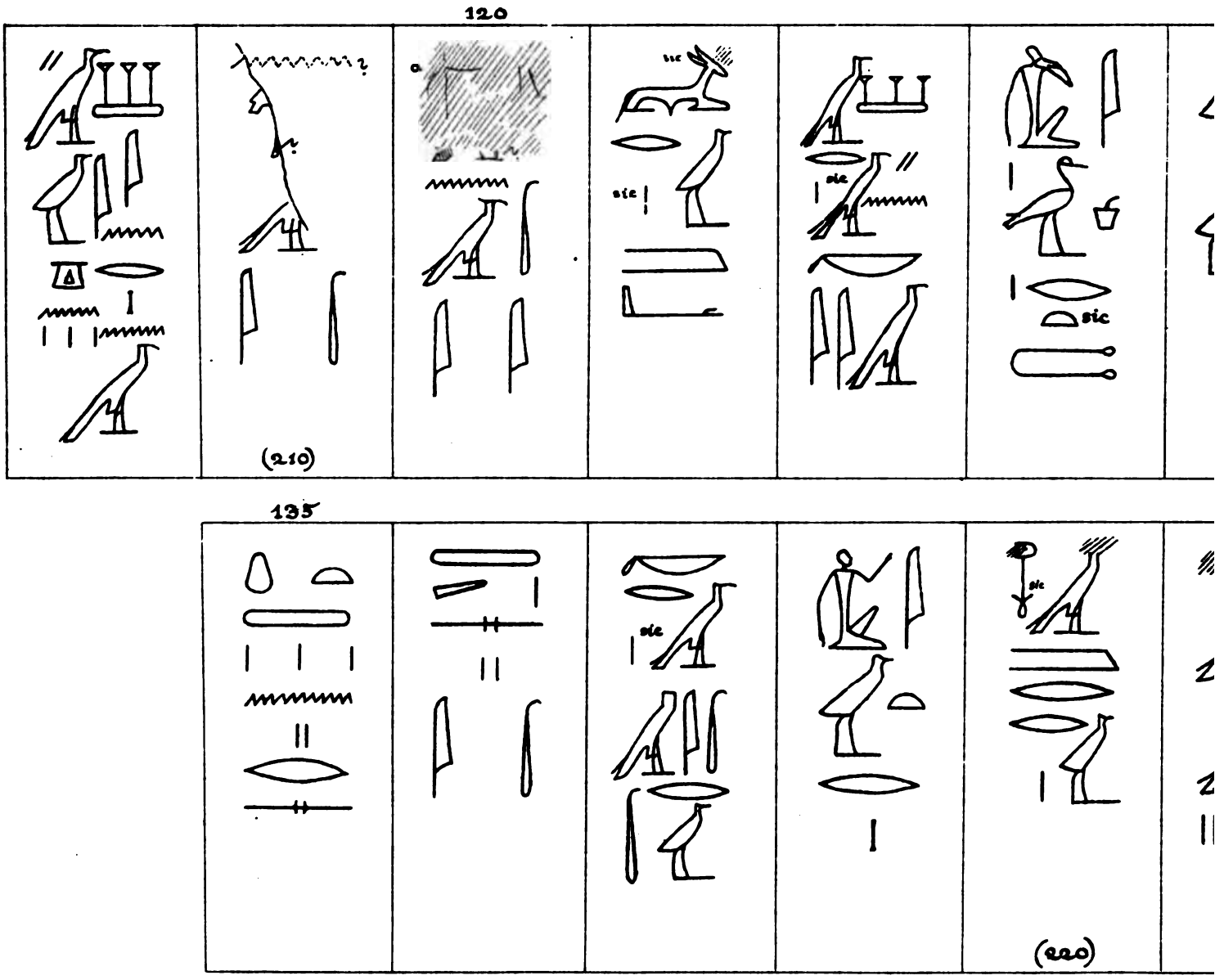
10TH ROW.

KARNAK.

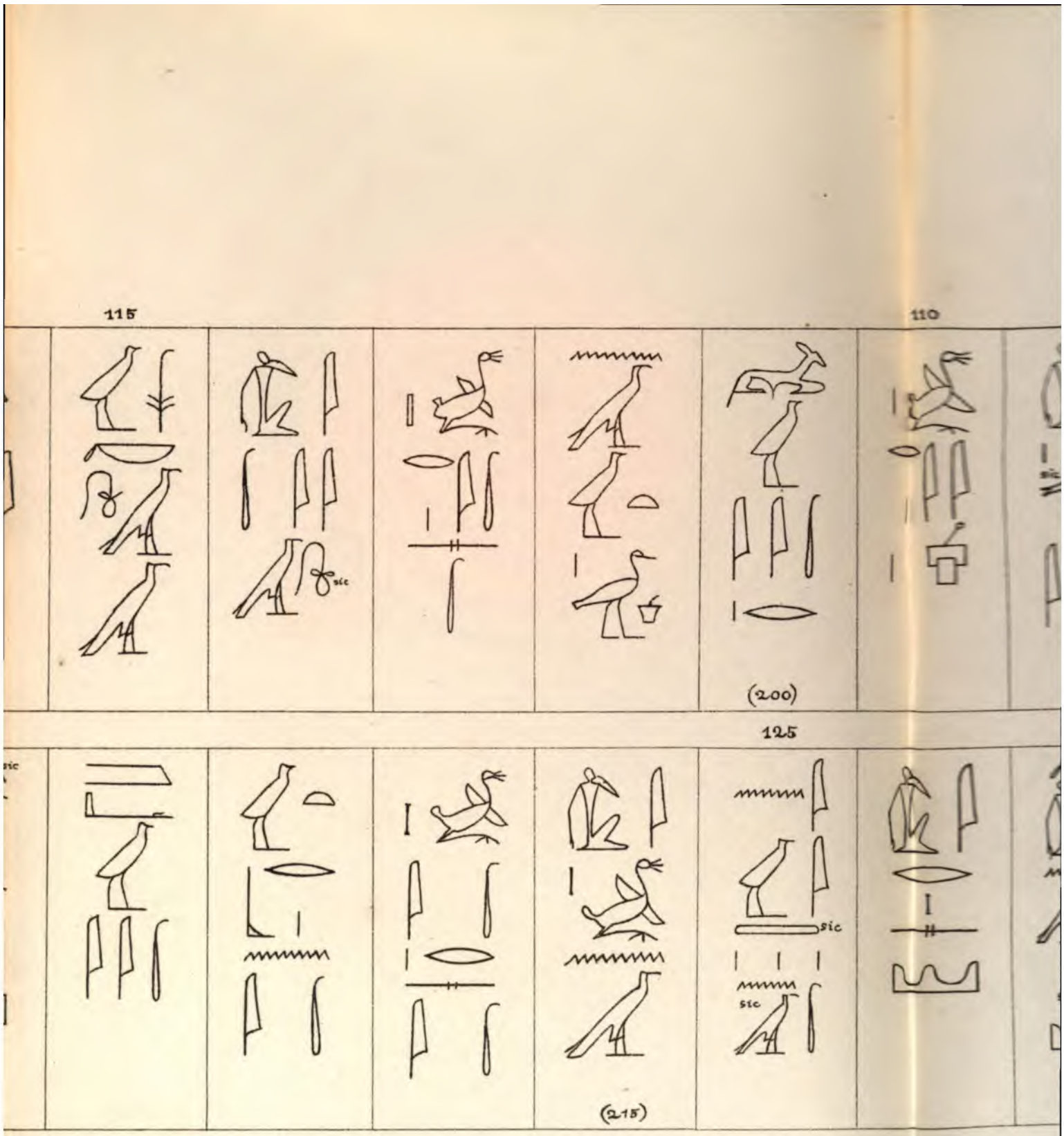
ANDREW S. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

w.

86 !
lar
90 !
too
read
in t
91 a
Ma
giv
but
fer
oth



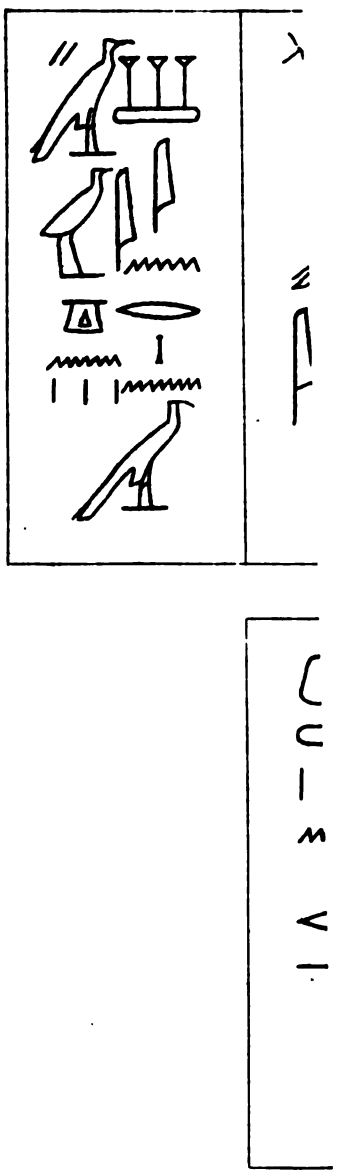
120a sic! like above(?! corr.?).



I SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III. 5TH ROW.

KARNAK.

D. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



120a sic! like

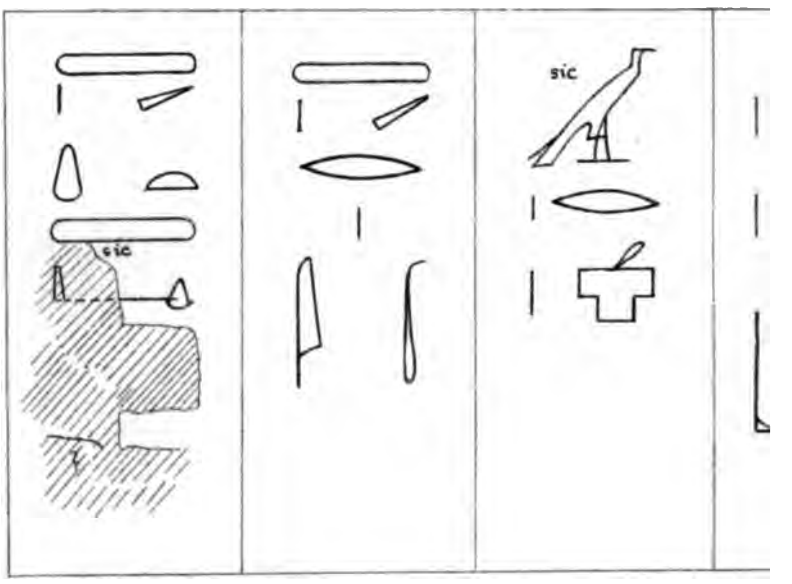
144 a Masp. | ; destr.?

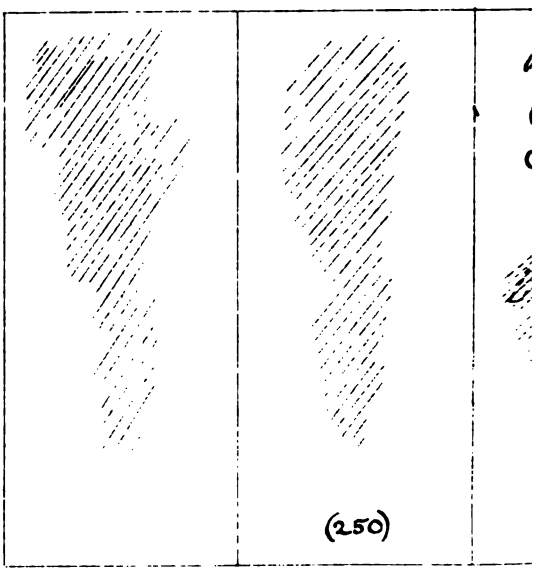
151 a ? i.e. ?

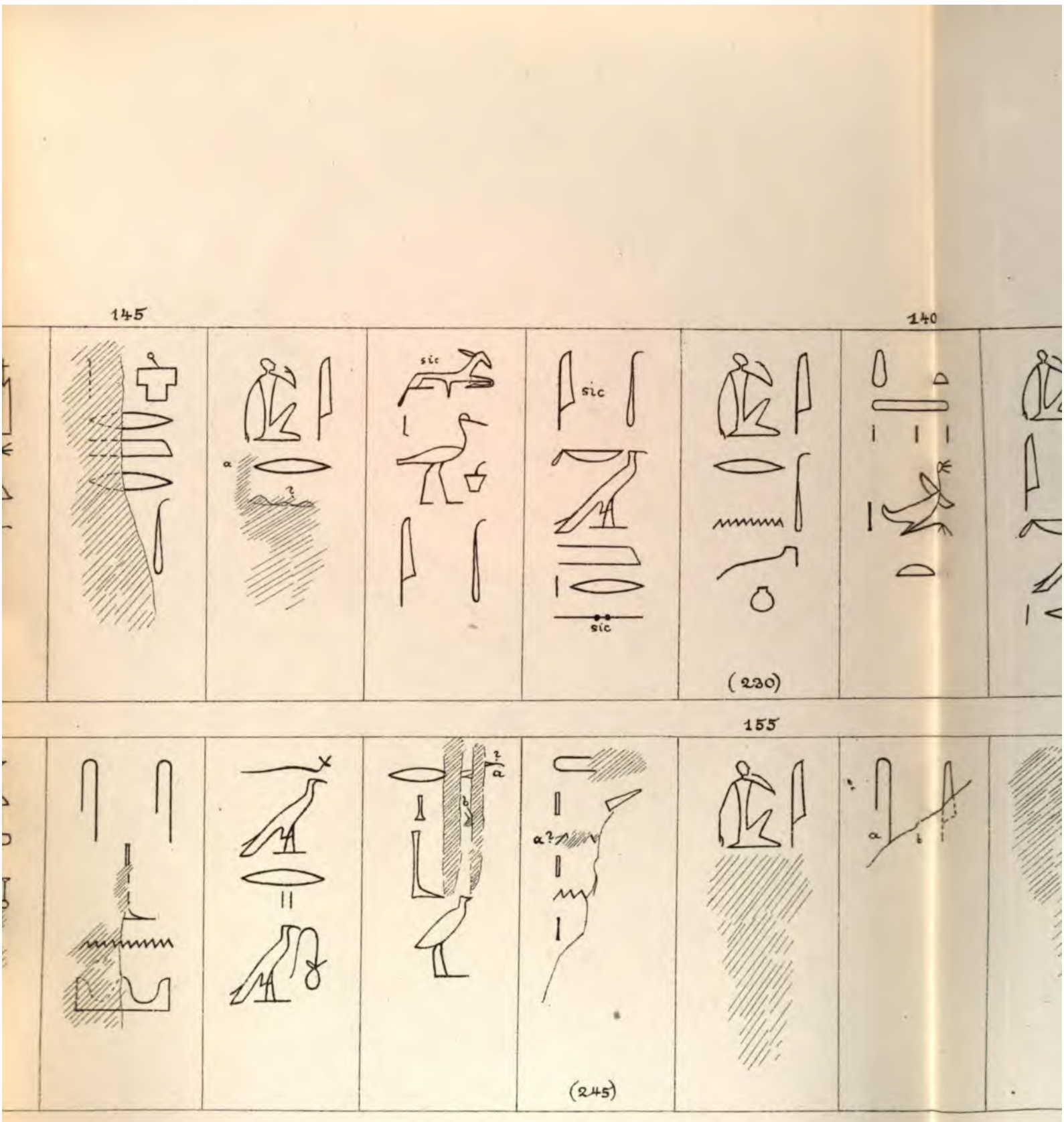
152 a | (Masp.) in fracture (?). b the seeming (Masp.) accidental, but restore ? the first | too far to the right.

154 a no traces behind . b accidental. 156 a small space; traces of ??

157 a like but accid.? b ?? 160 a space for a low sign, size of a or etc.





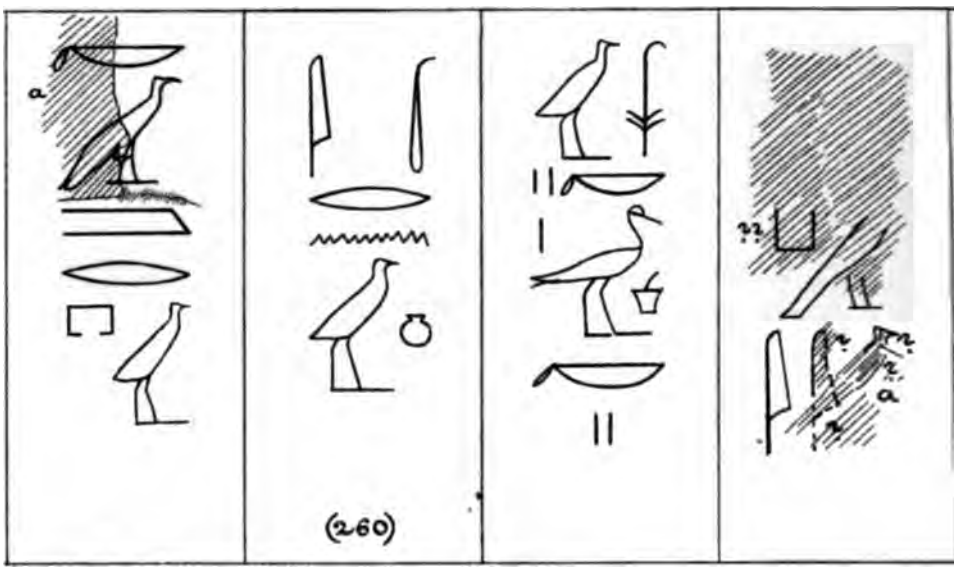


THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN NORTHERN SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III. 5TH ROW.

KARNAK.

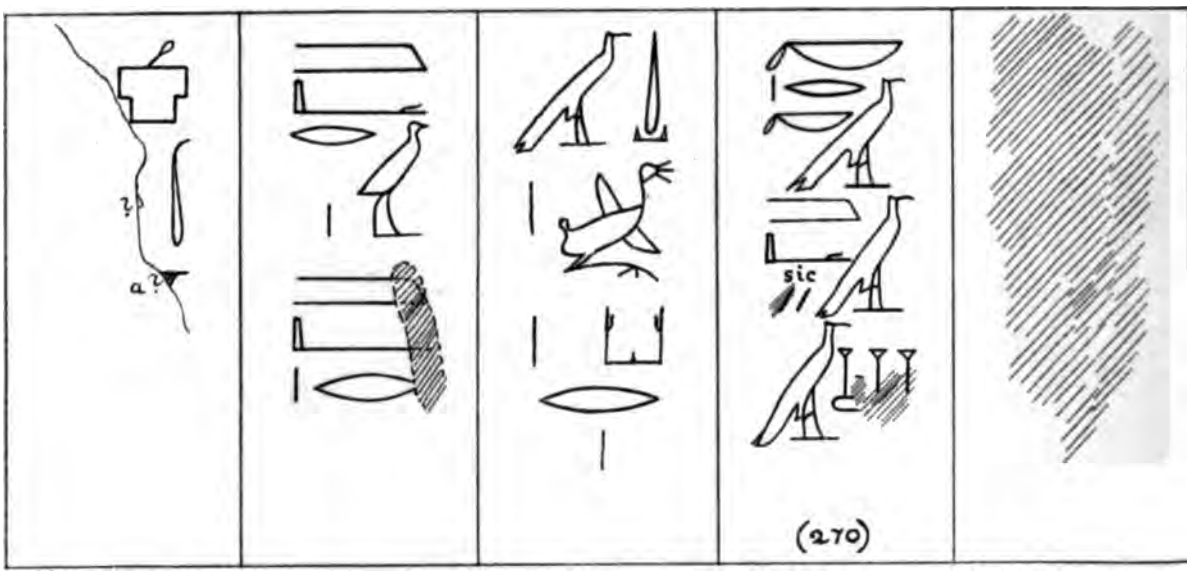
ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON D. C.

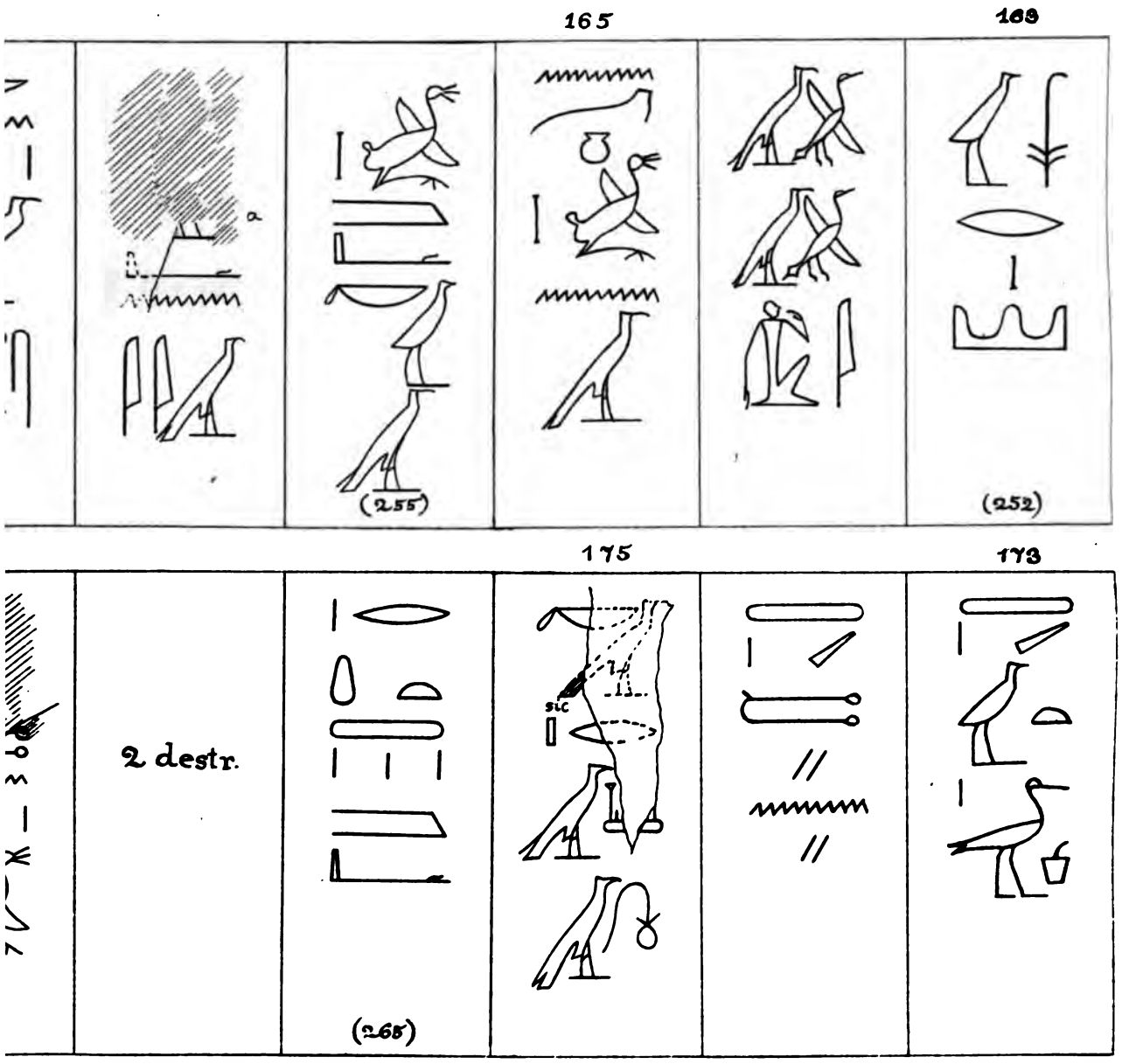
170



180

5 names destr.





167a bi

168a sp

sign ?

169a li

possible;

172a

small

175 t

plete

179a ex

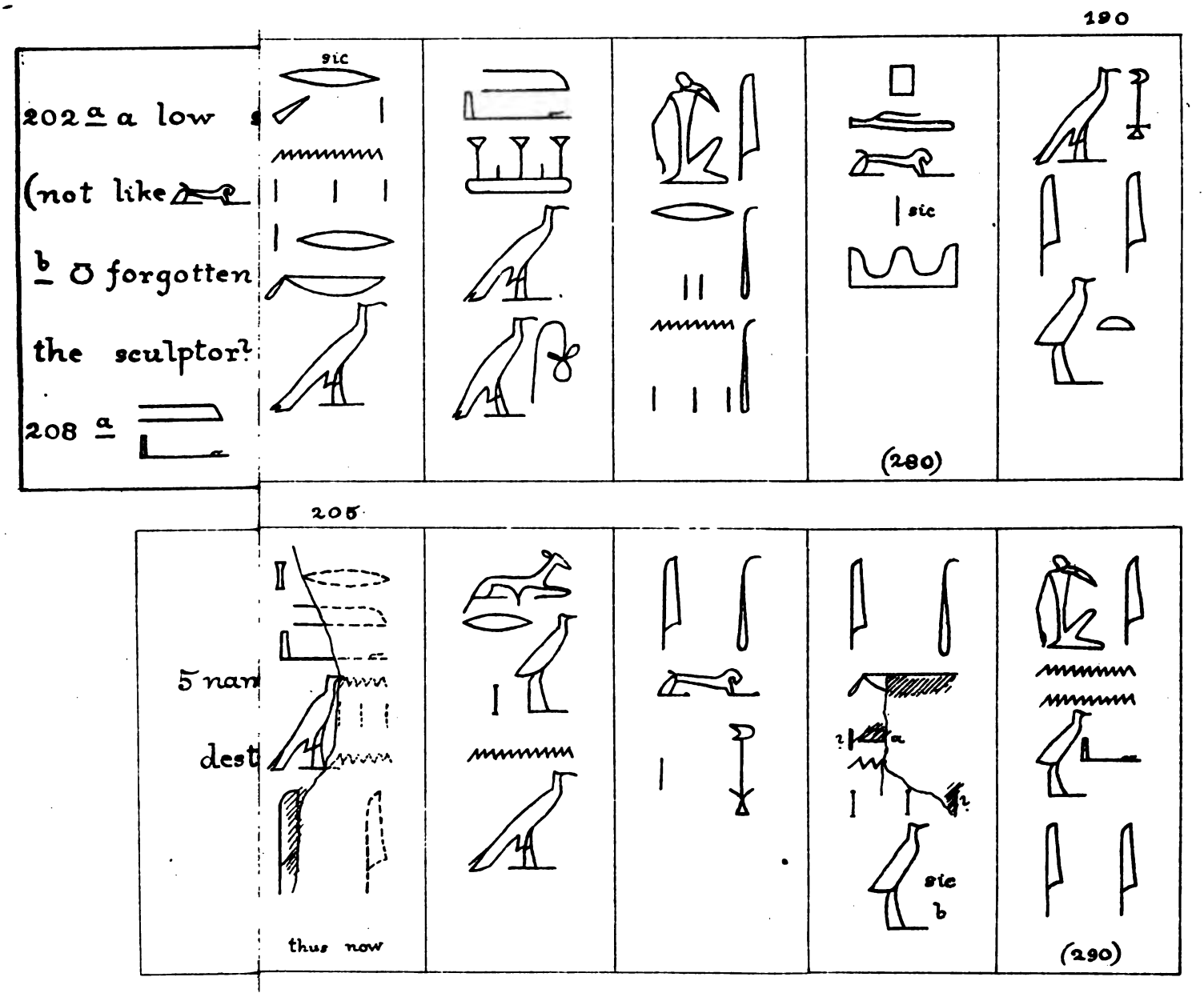
184a

CITIES IN NORTHERN SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III, 7TH ROW.

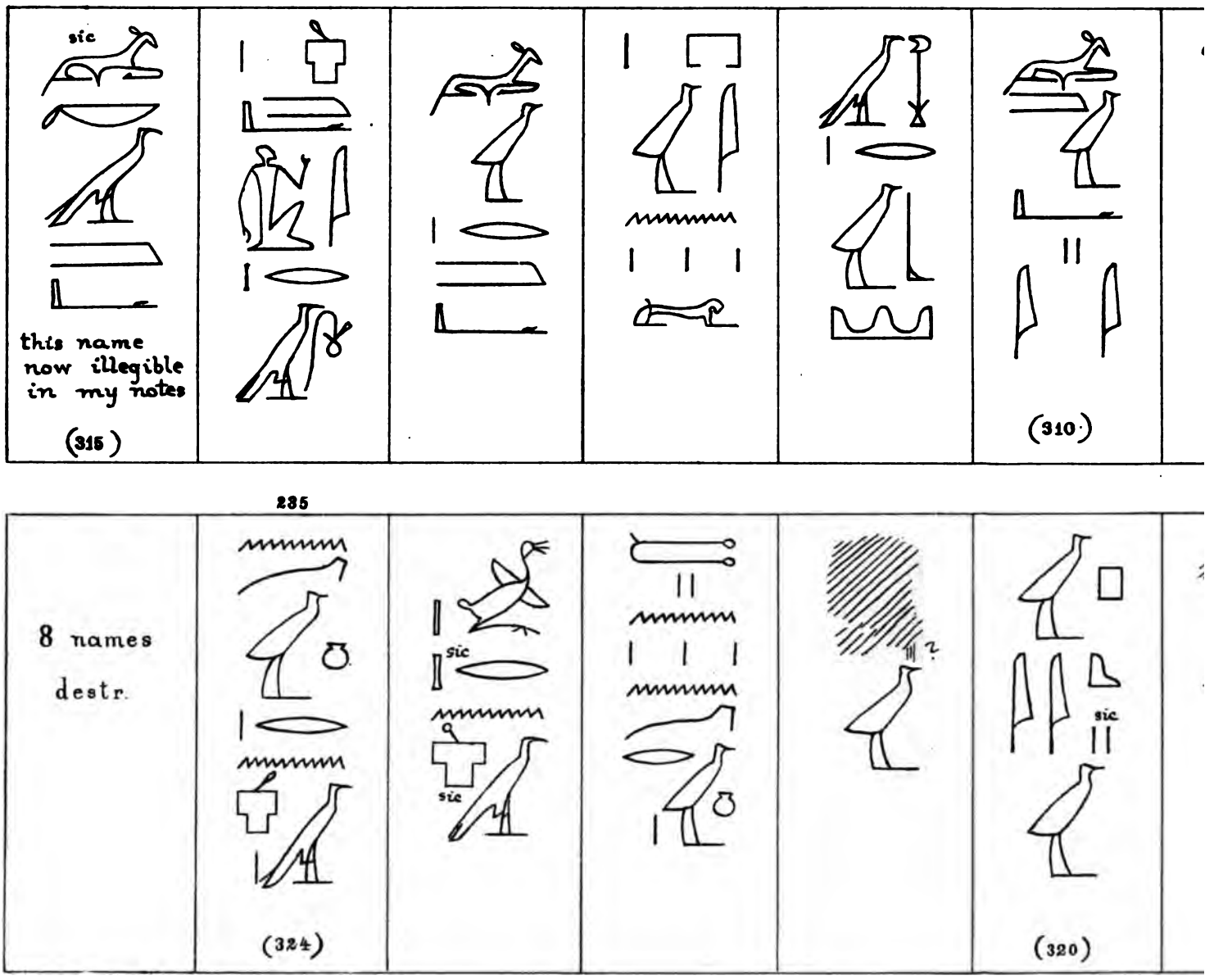
KARNAK.

5 names
destr.

5 names
destr.

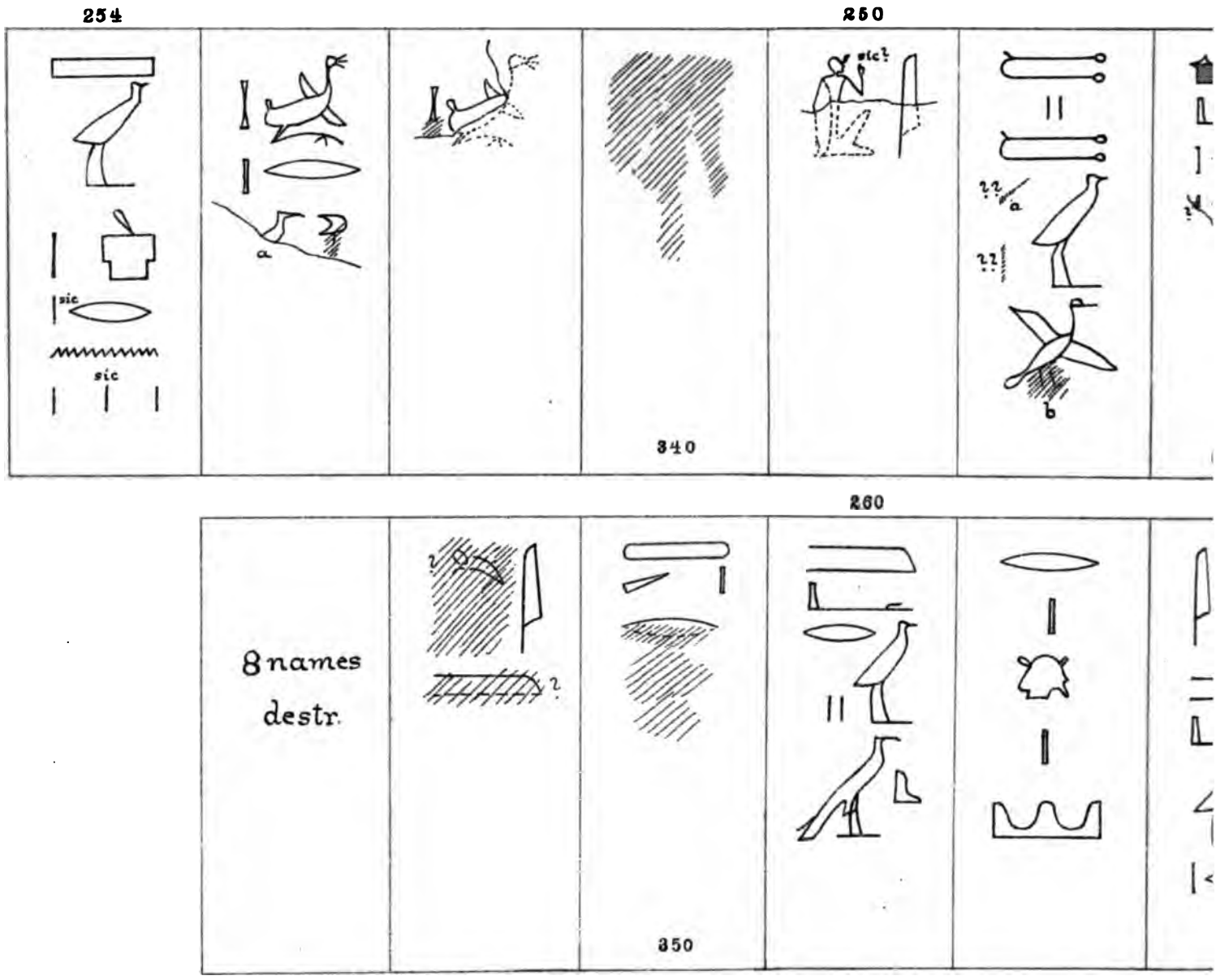


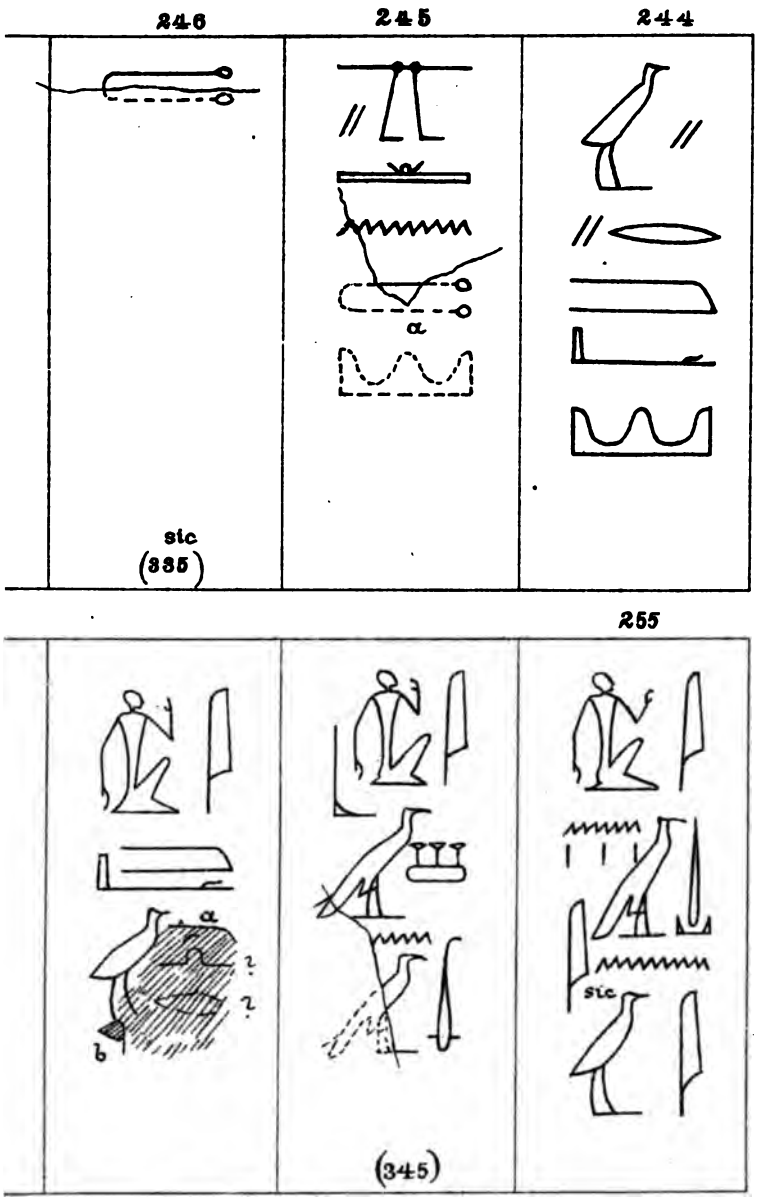
MOSIS III. 8TH ROW.



THE GREAT LIST OF CITIES IN N. SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS

KARNAK.


254
250
sic
sic
a
sic?
a
b
340
260
8 names
destr.
350



246 a no space for more.

248 a [redacted], i.e. [hieroglyph] intended, over [hieroglyph]

b [hieroglyph] certain, also by traces of

c [hieroglyph] accidental?

249 a acci

but space? b end!

253 a [hieroglyph] (not [hieroglyph])

257 a fra

like a short [hieroglyph], below [hieroglyph] ? (

[hieroglyph] ?) not [hieroglyph] or [hieroglyph] (Masp.) also no

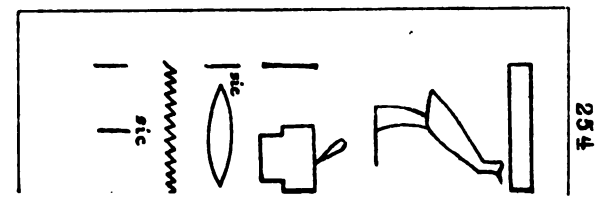
of the I of I [hieroglyph]. b accidental

insert 247 (336) [hieroglyph] (cp. Masp.).

. SYRIA, CONQUERED BY THUTMOSIS III, 10TH ROW.

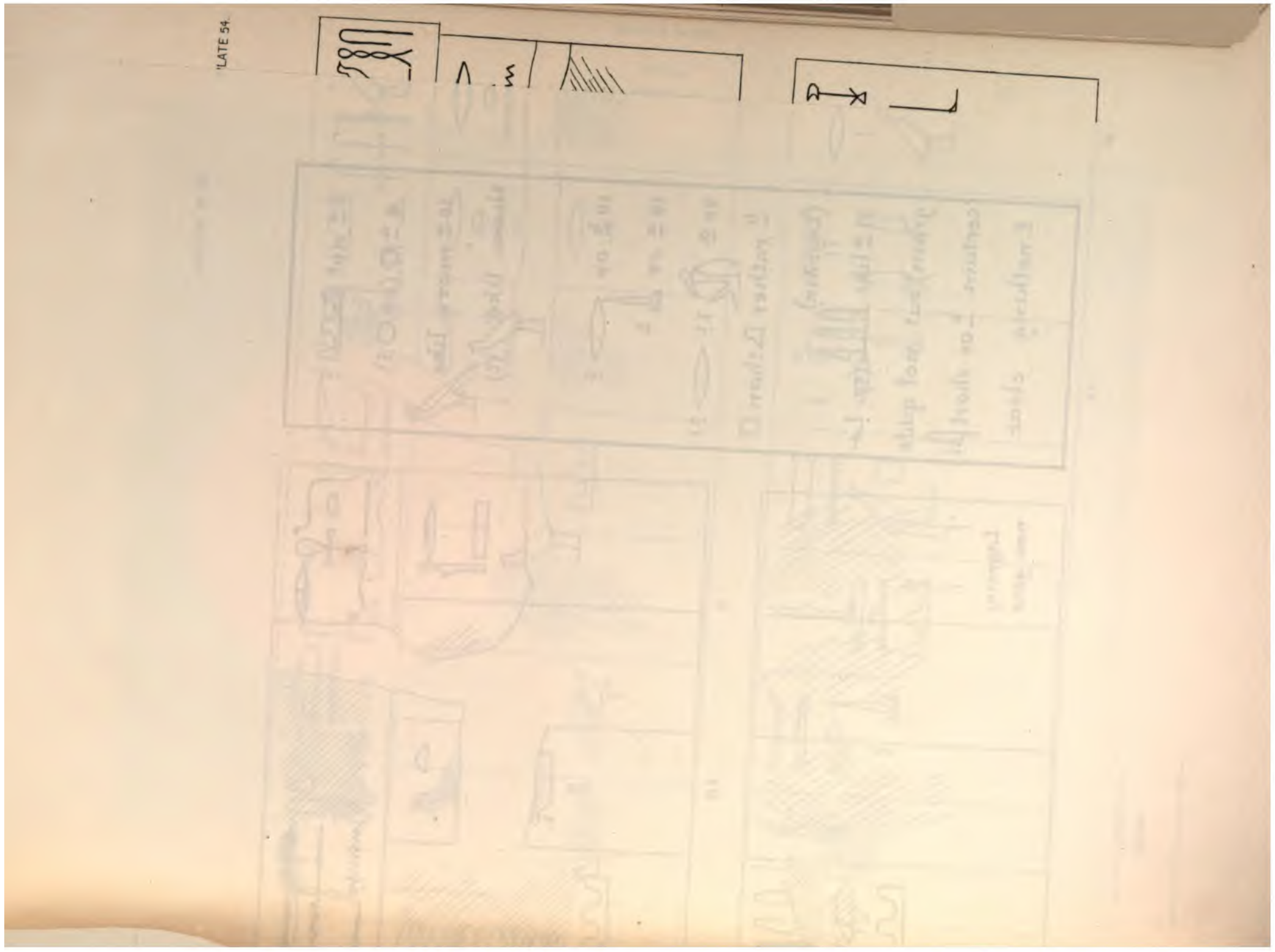
KARNAK.

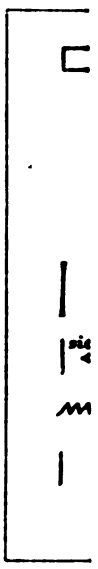
... CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON D. C.



W. M. MC

PLATE 54.





6 a not ?

8 a (or ?).

10 a more like than like (?).

10 b or ?

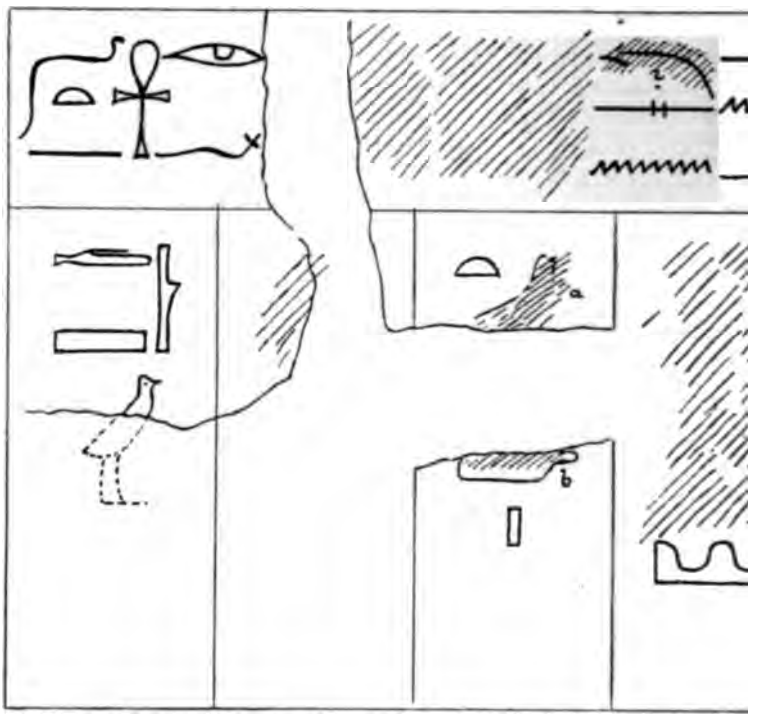
19 a or ?

20 a ?? ??

b rather than (Legrain).

21 a like (cp. Legrain) but not quite certain. b or short ?

c nothing clear.



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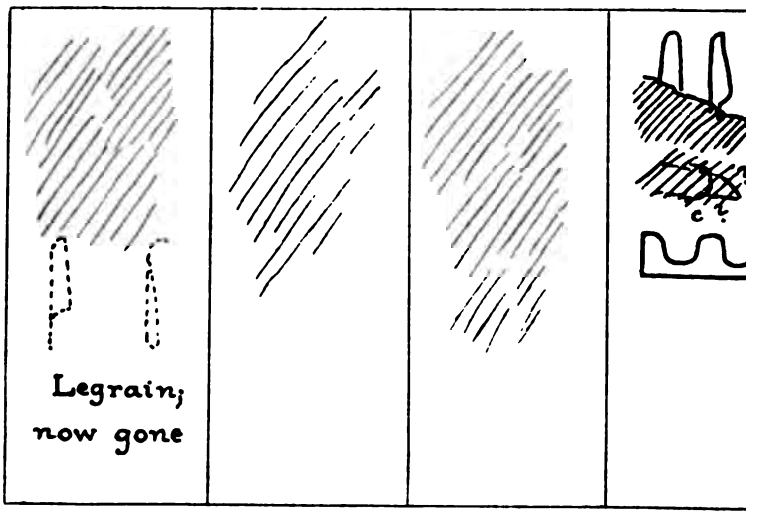
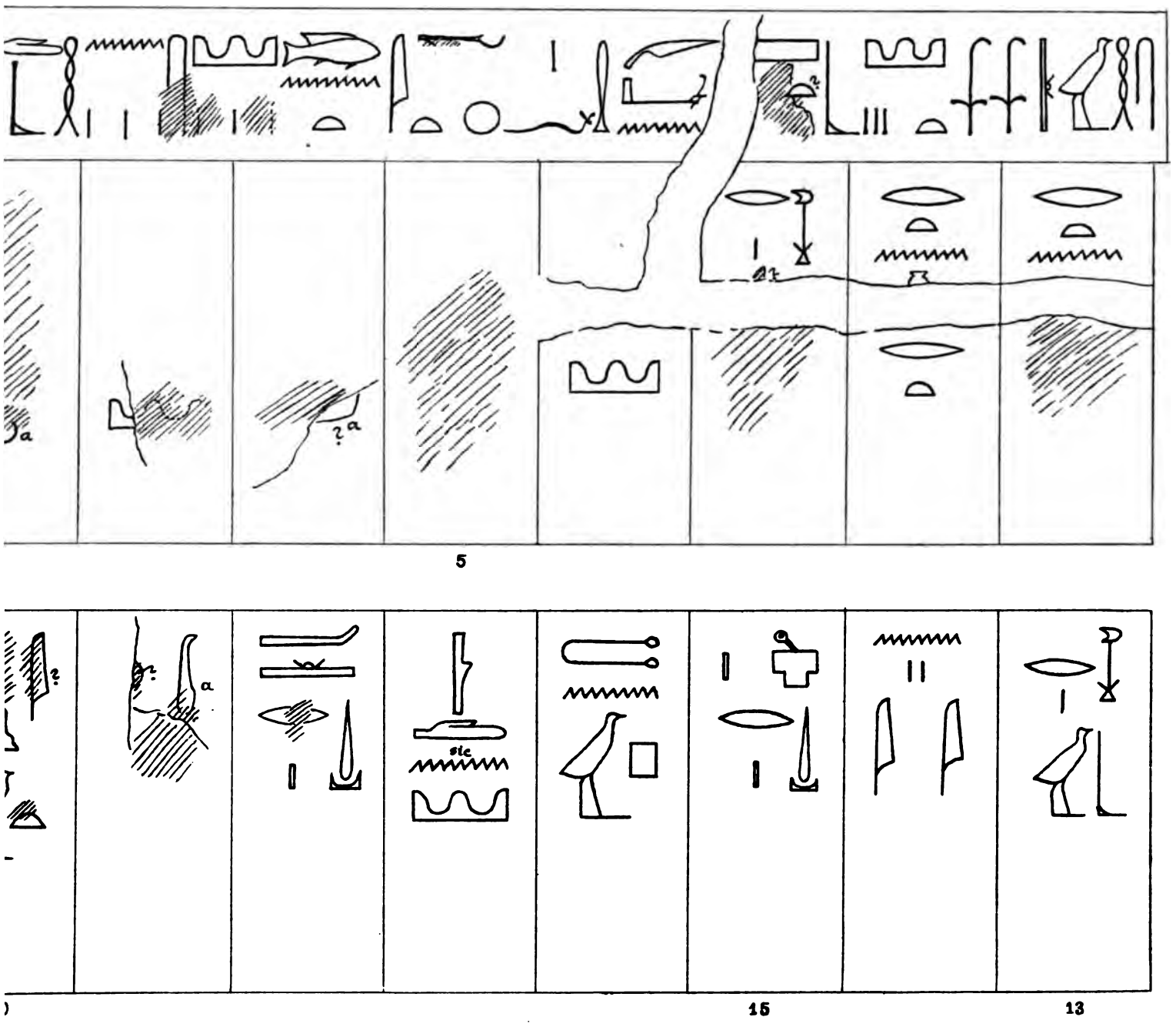


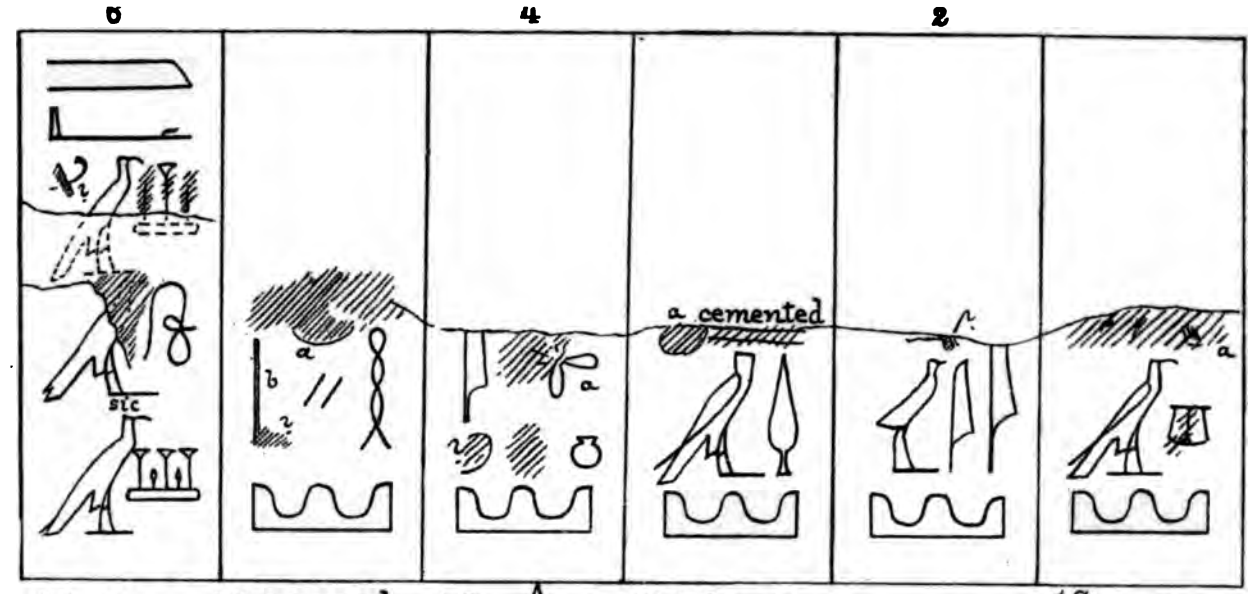


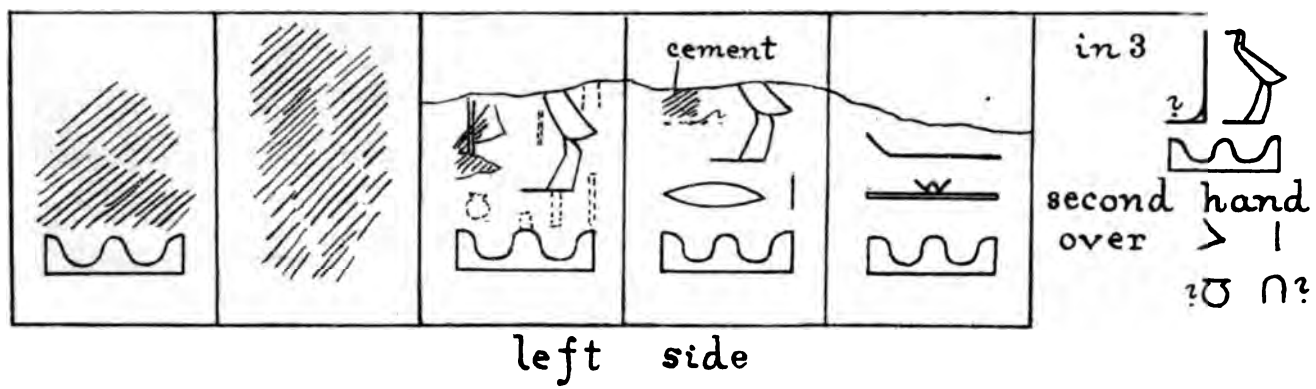
LIST OF AMENHOTEP II.

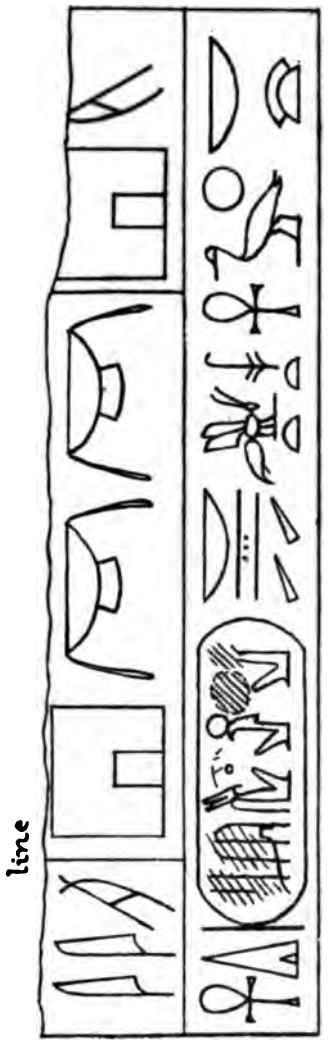
KARNAK.

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

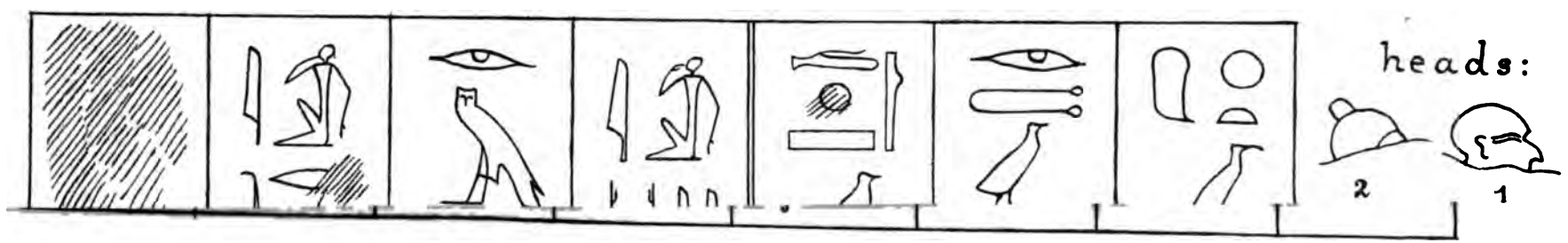
LIST OF AMENḤOTEP II.
KARNAK.



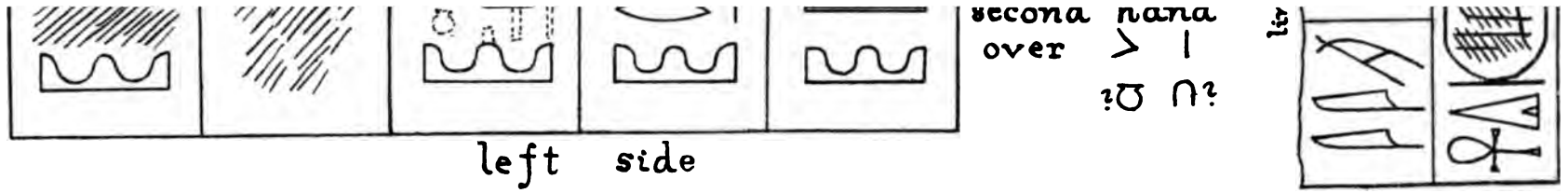


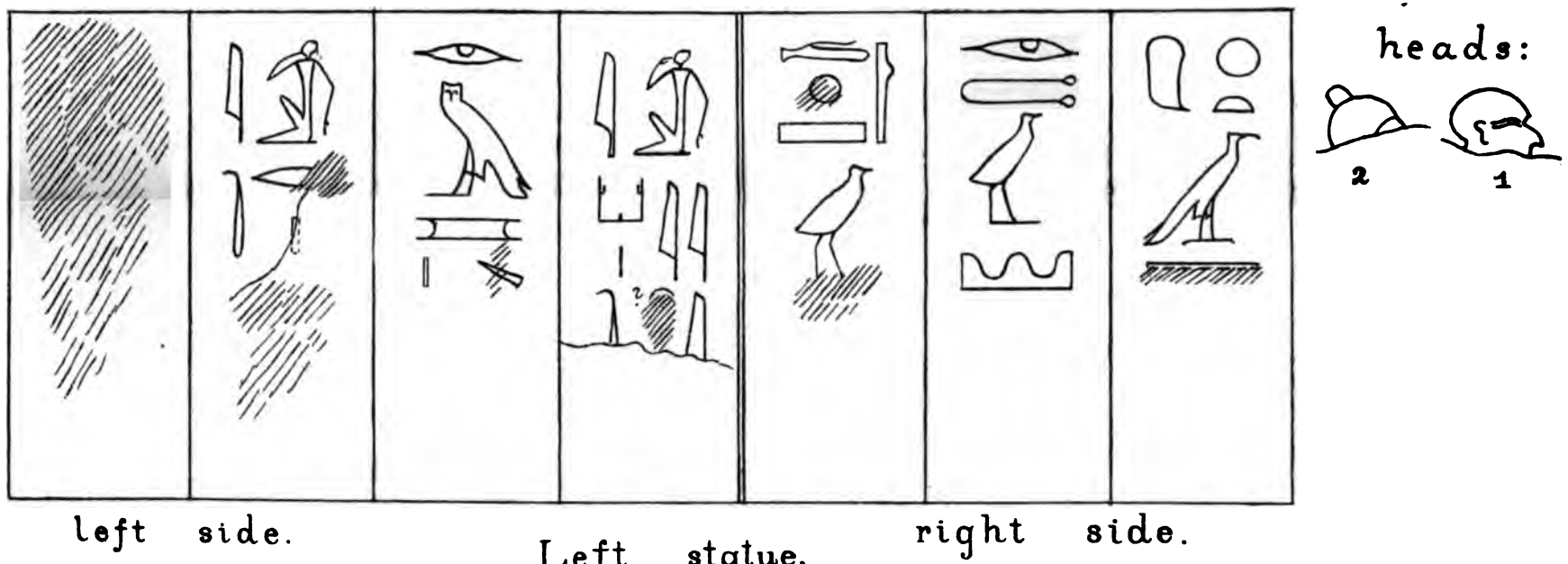


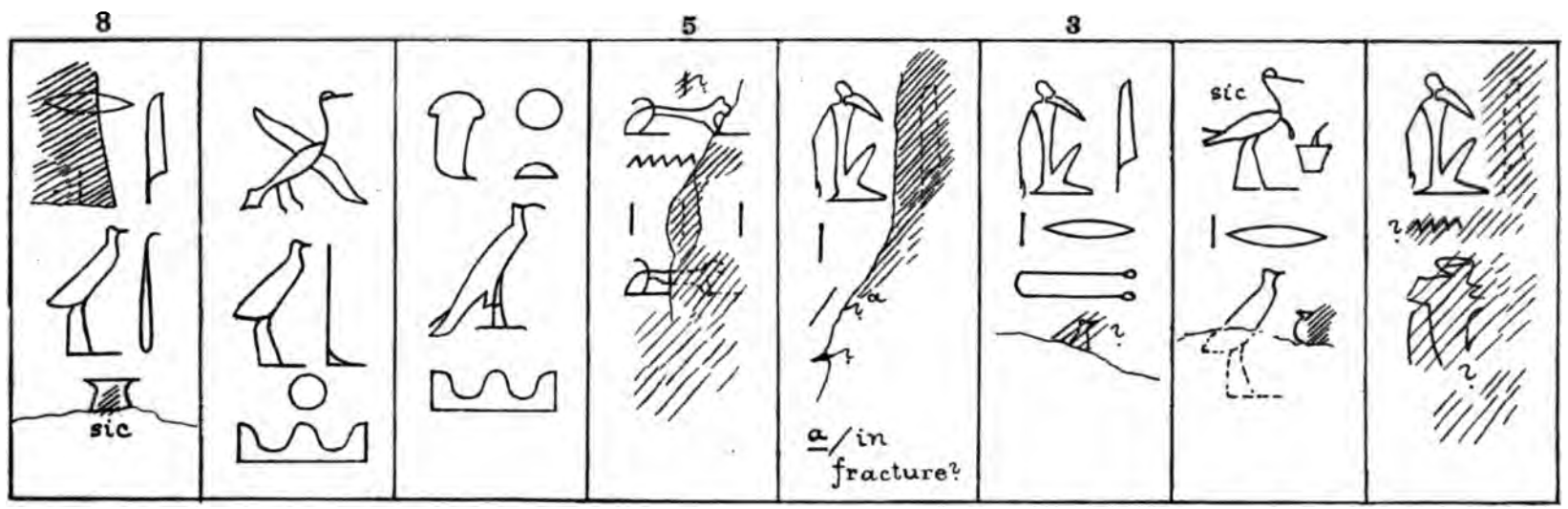
Front of right statue.



List of Har-em-heb.





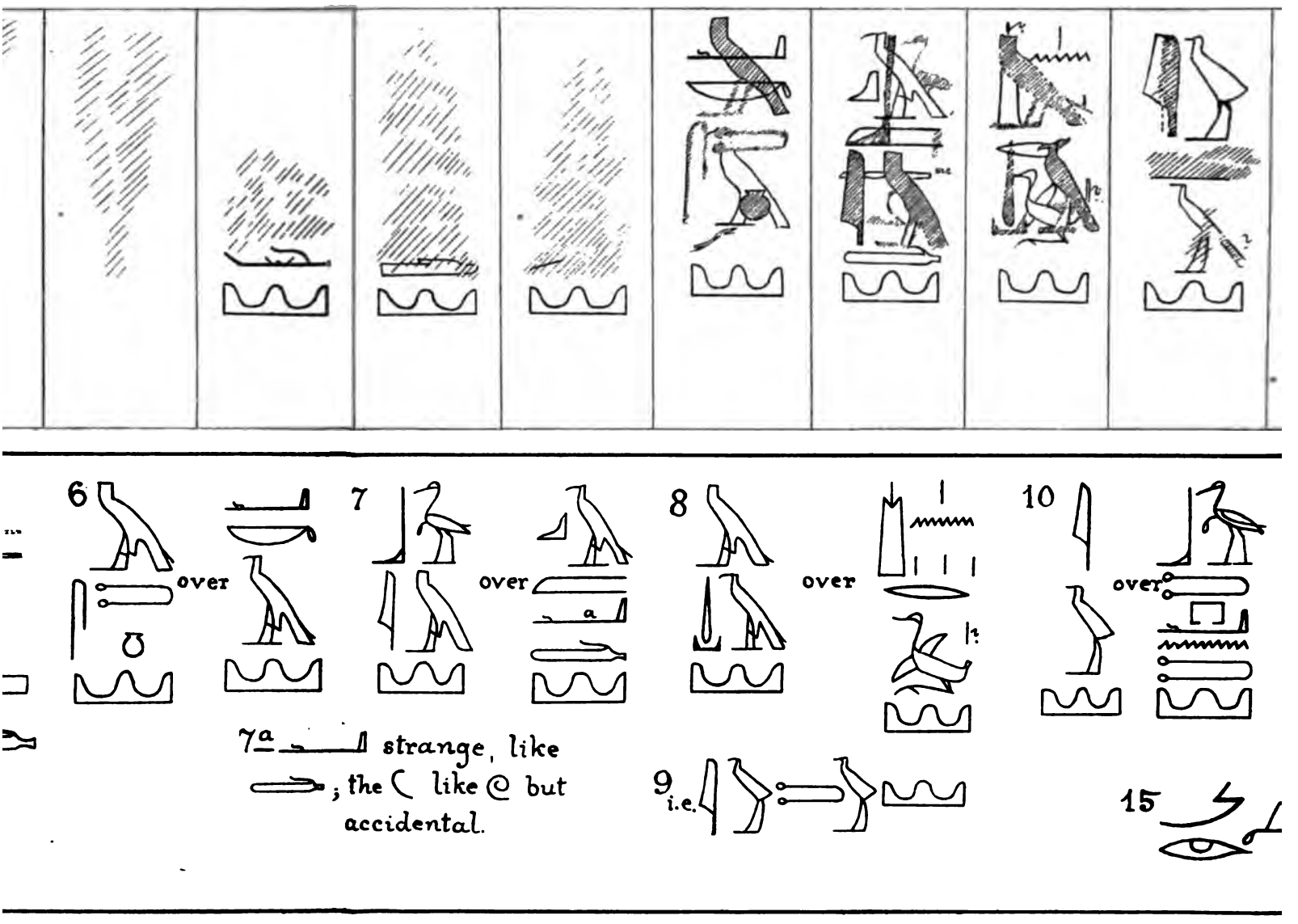


List of Har-em-ḥeb.

W. M. MÜLLER.

MÜLLER.

5

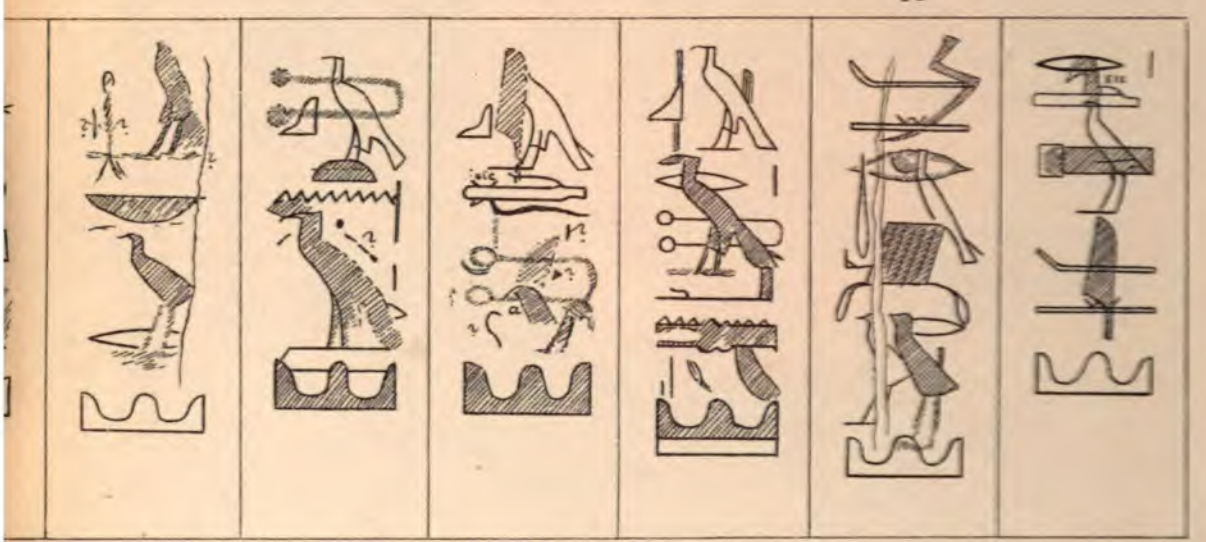


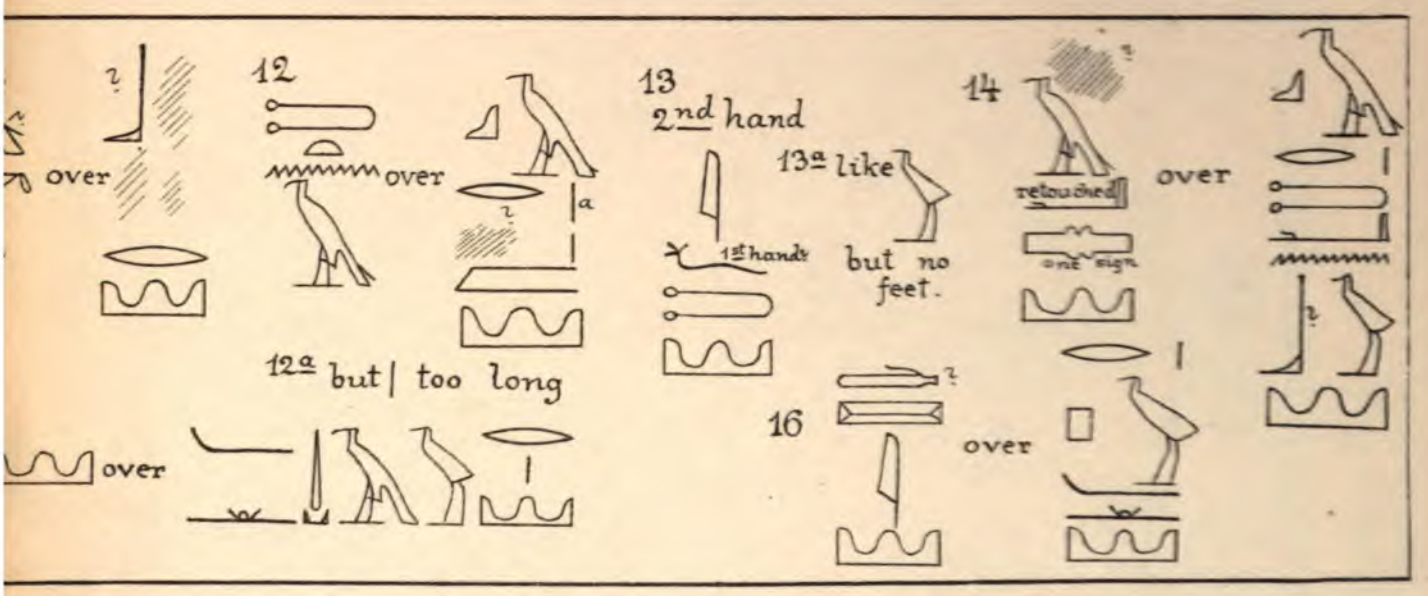
PALIMPSEST LIST OF PALESTINIAN AND PHOEN

NORTH WALL, RIGHT (WEST) SIDE

KARNAK

15



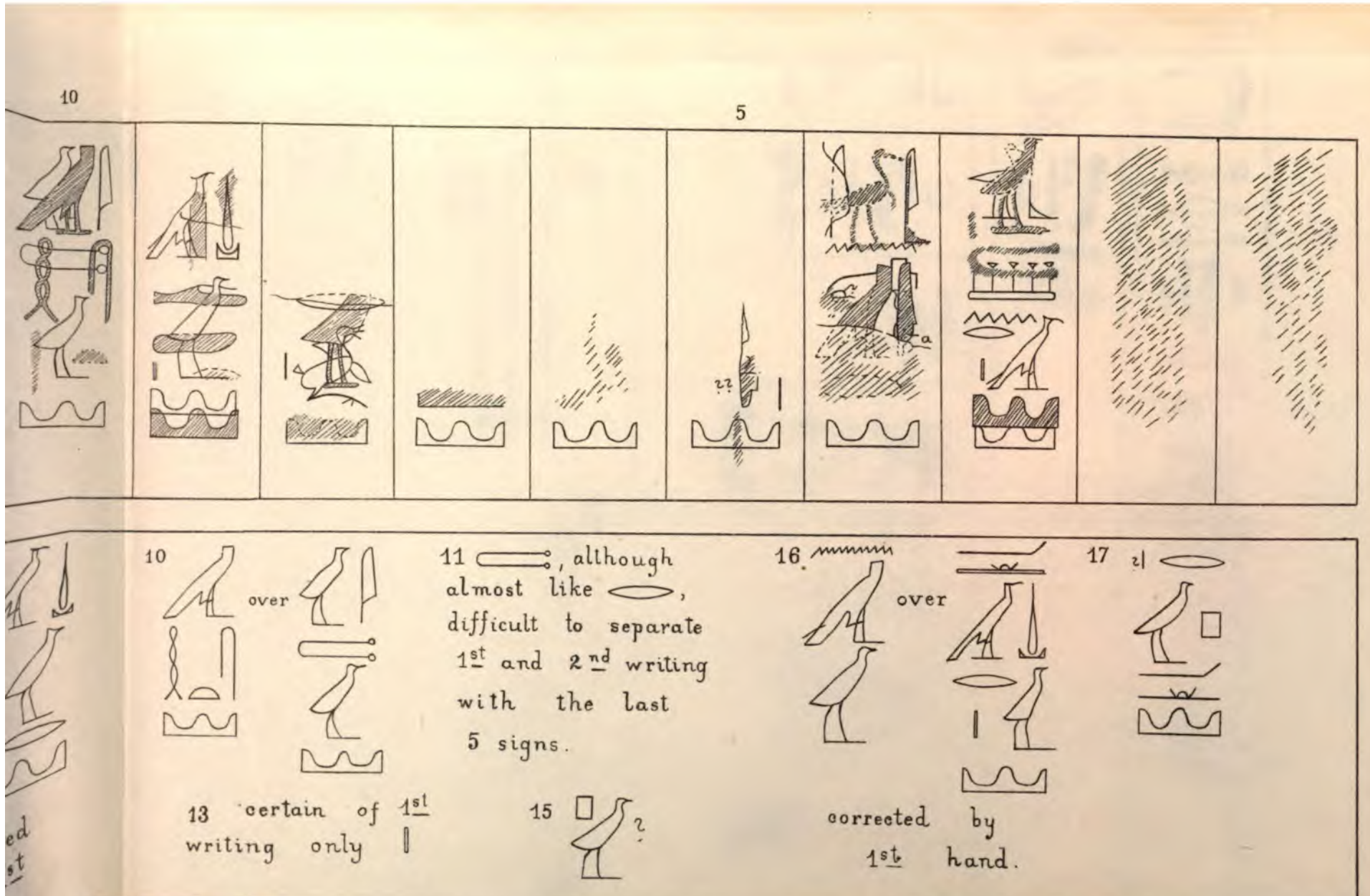


Y SETHOS I.

R.

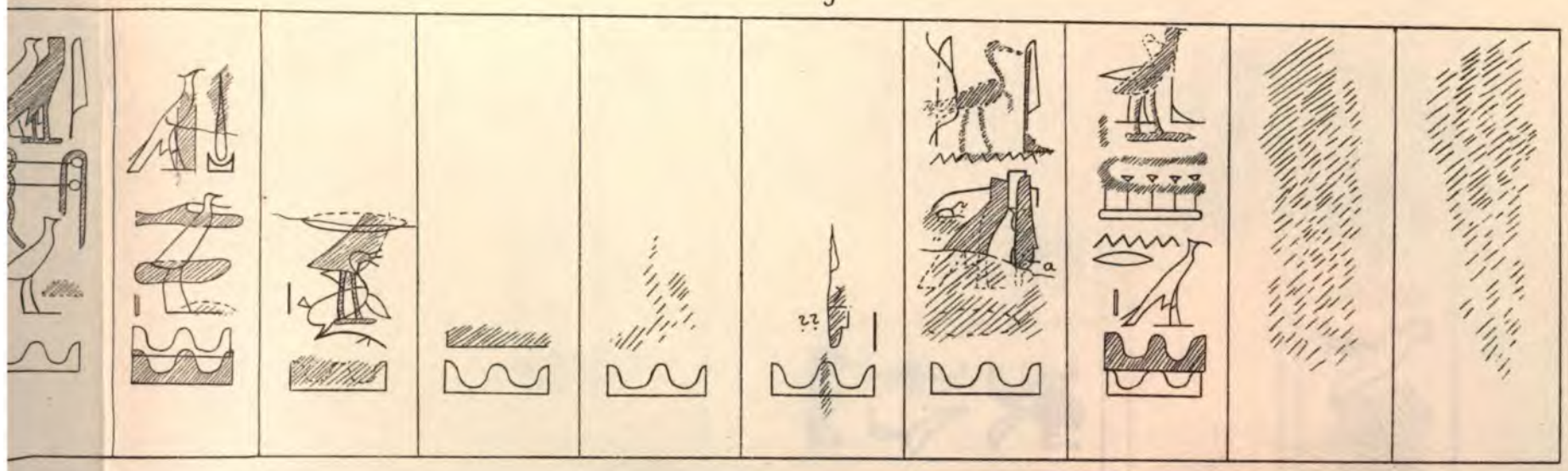
KARNAK.

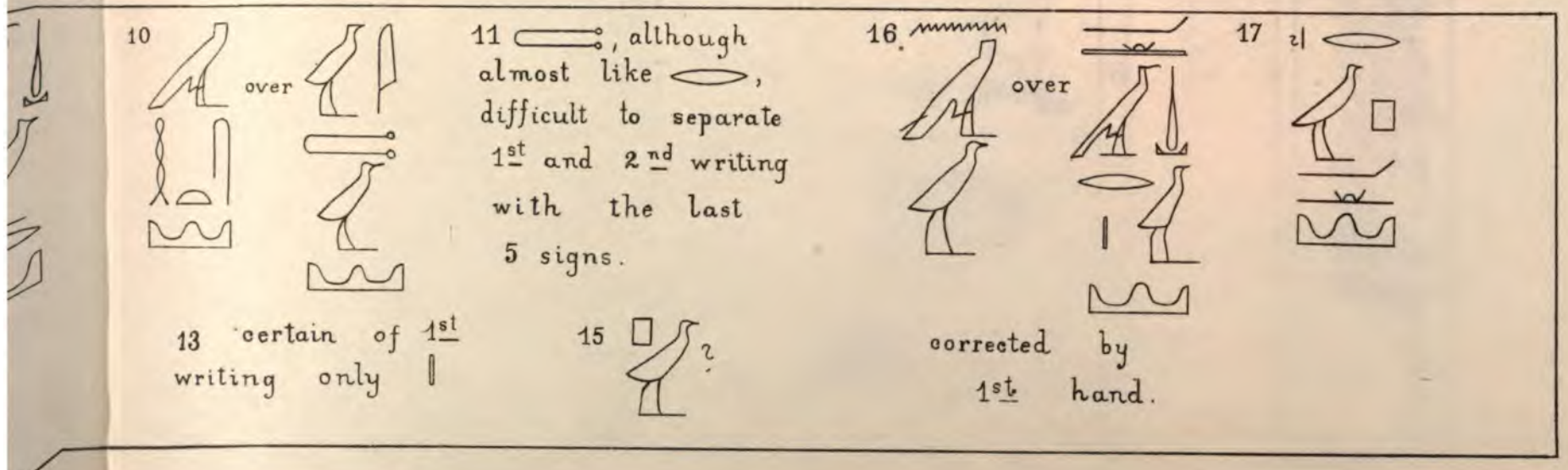
W. S. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



PALIMPSEST LIST OF PALESTINIAN AND PHOENICIAN CITIES BY SETHOS I.
NORTH WALL, LEFT (EAST) SIDE FROM THE DOOR.
KARNAK.

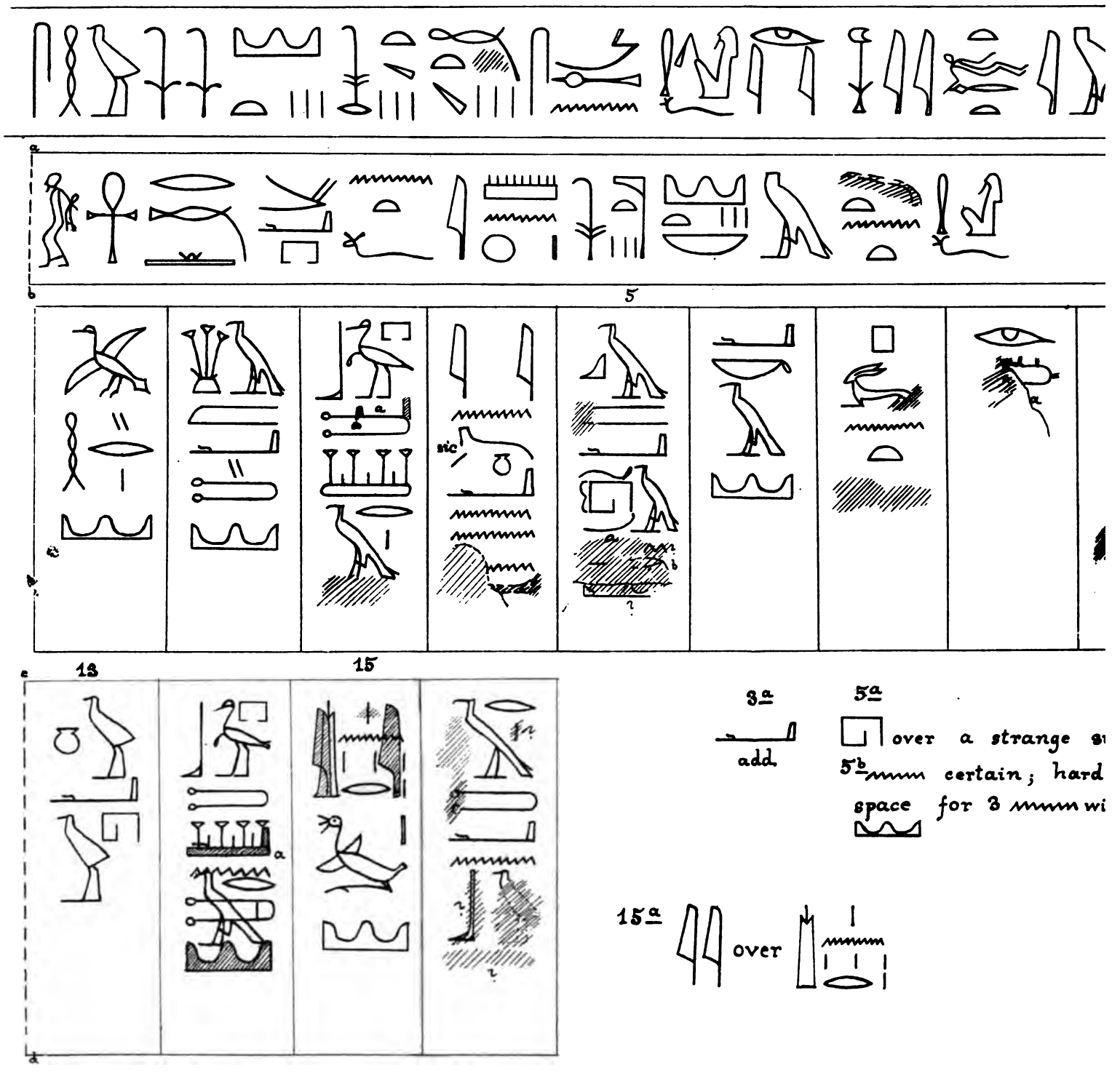
ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



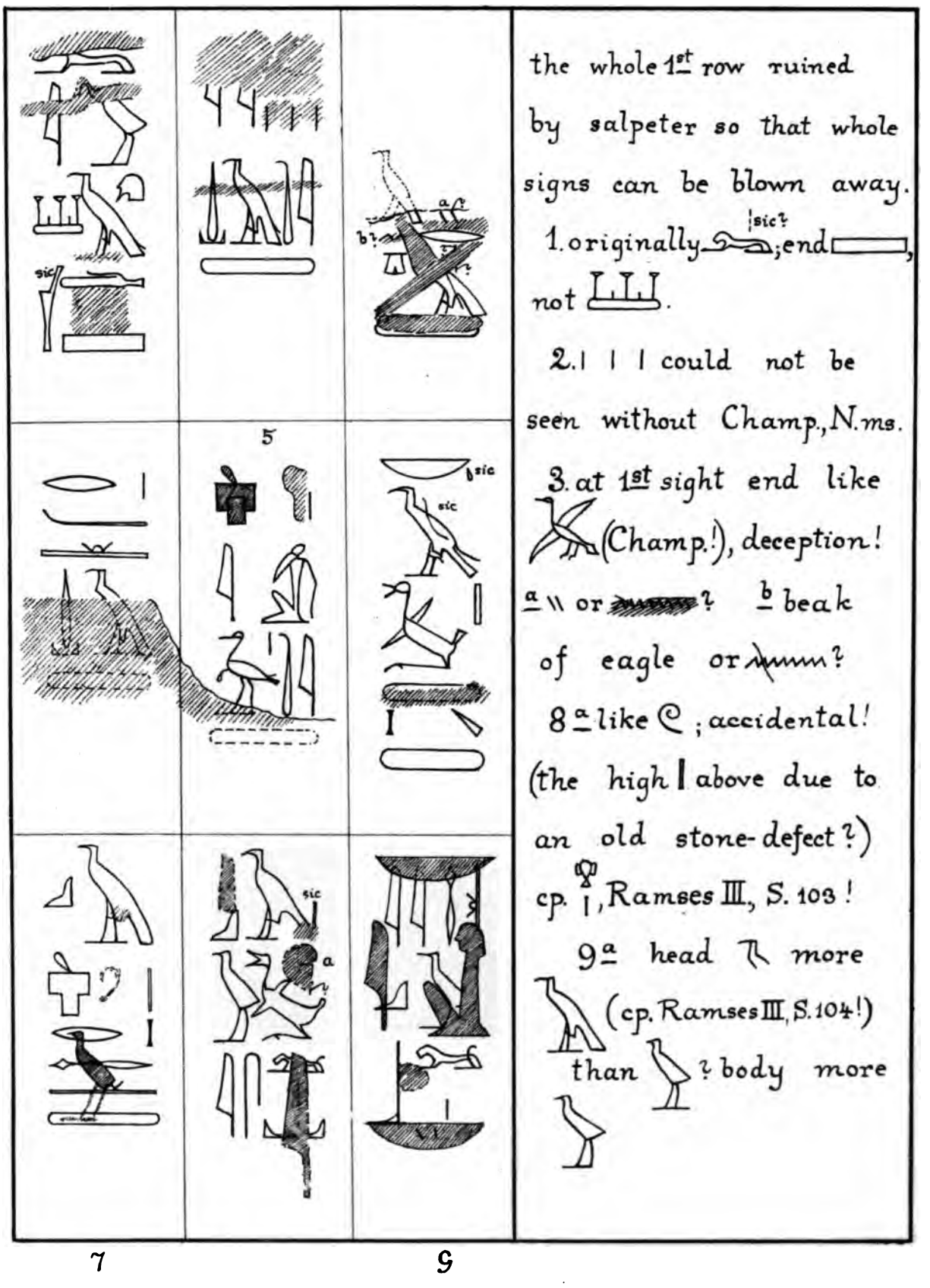


PALIMPSEST LIST OF PALESTINIAN AND PHOENICIAN CITIES BY SETHOS I.
NORTH WALL, LEFT (EAST) SIDE FROM THE DOOR.
KARNAK.

ANDREW J. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

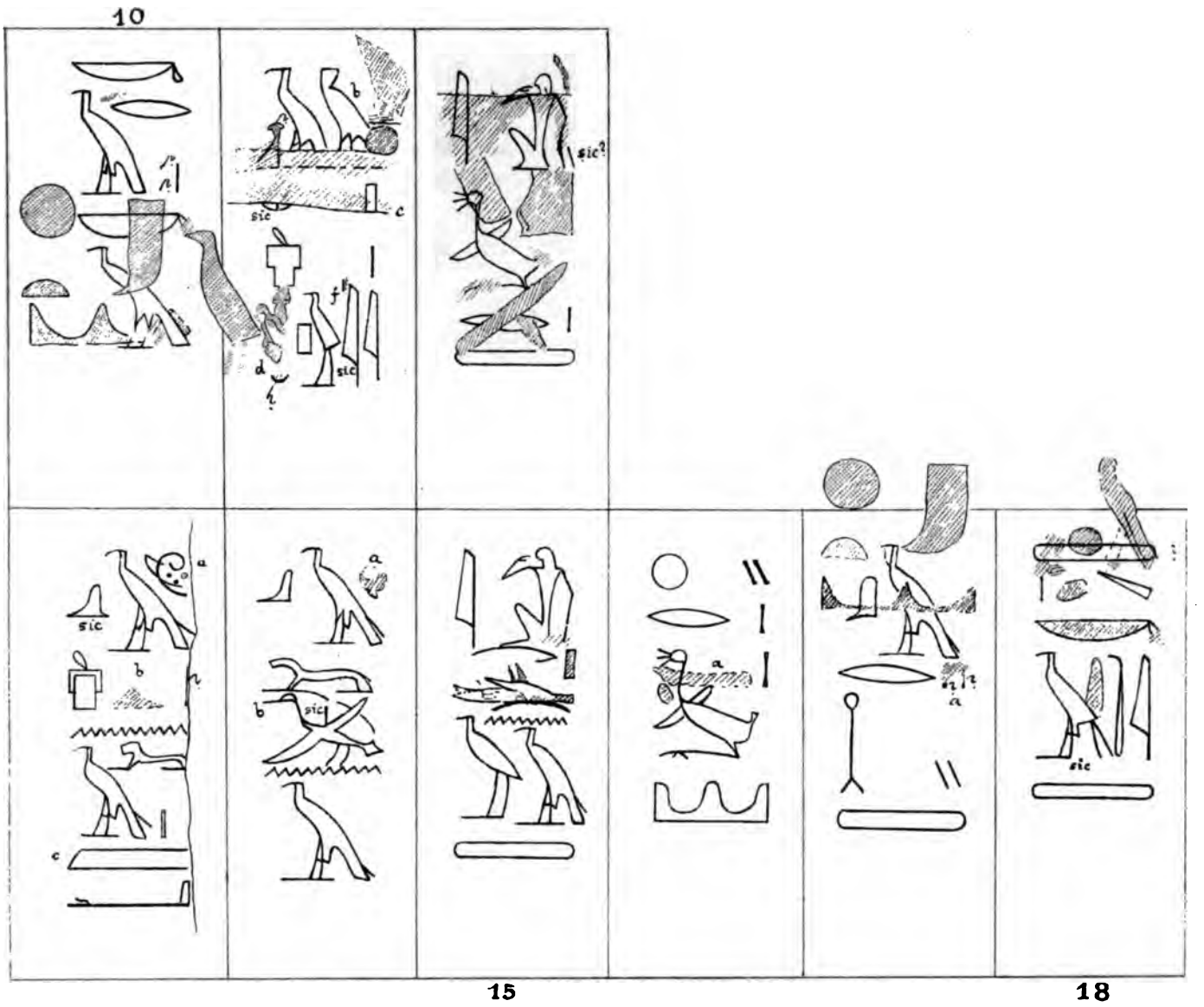


LIST OF RAMSES II.
KARNAK.

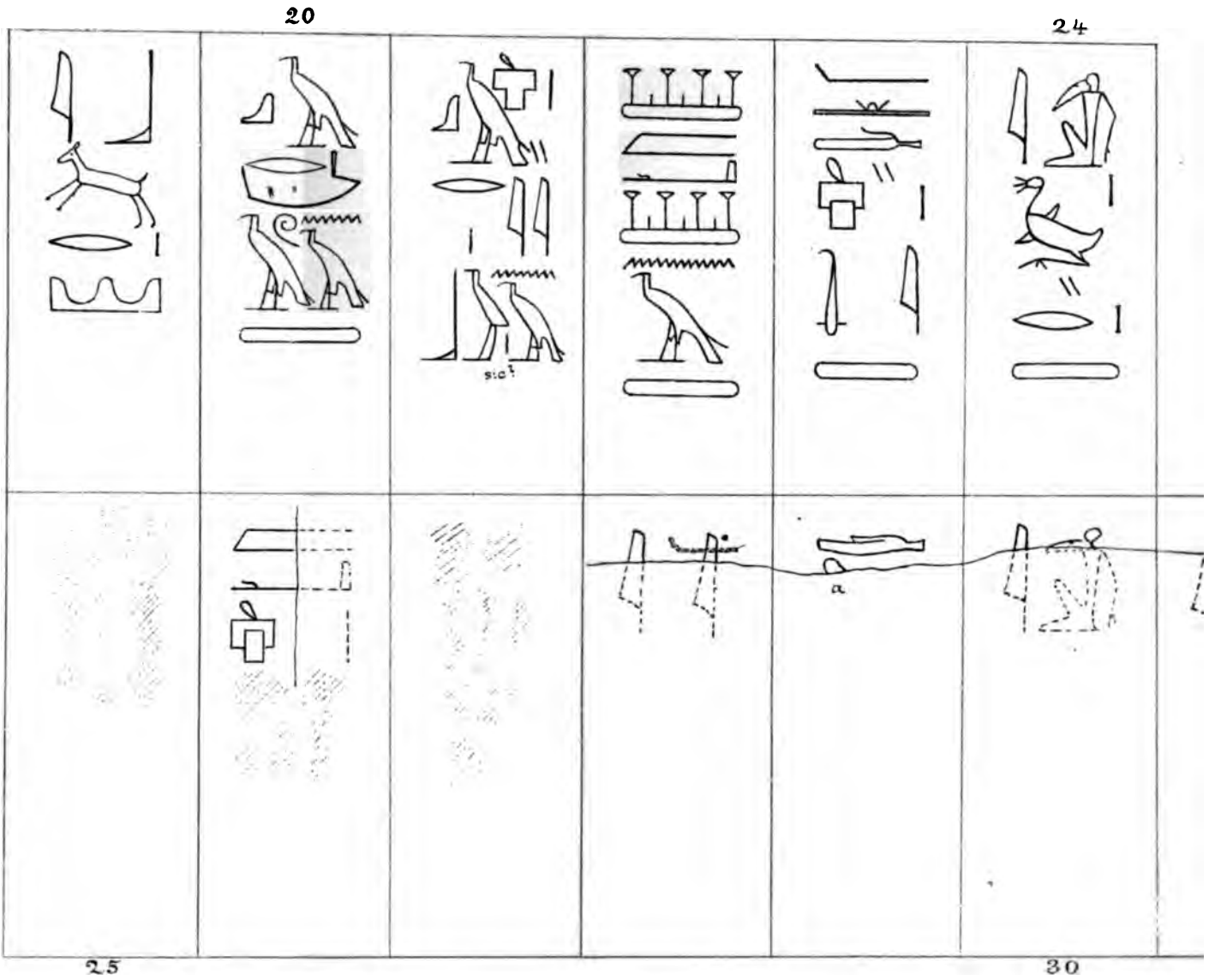


REBELLIOUS PALESTINIAN CITIES PUNISHED BY RAMSES II. ROW 1 TO 3.

KARNAK.



11a shallow squeezed in, touching cartouche; above accidental prolongation (not b corr. from ?? clumsy. c first impression, but left side, ri side rather □ than I d space; erased? □ holds less than centre. f abnormal, over corr. 13a & b corr. c certain. 14a corr.? abandoned? b d later squeezed in. 15. two (3?) attempts to insert; also ∥ and added. 16a 2nd hand? 17a ?? especially the left-one. 18 over ; 1st sign like ?!; might be other hand. original corr. to ?



20 Traces over like \\ corr., cp. Ramses III, S. 84, but too wide.

26 = R. III, S. 76. 27-28 = R. III, 77-78? 27 over . 29a not like bi

but after R. III, 79. 30-31 = R. III, 80-81? 32 = R. III, 82; a

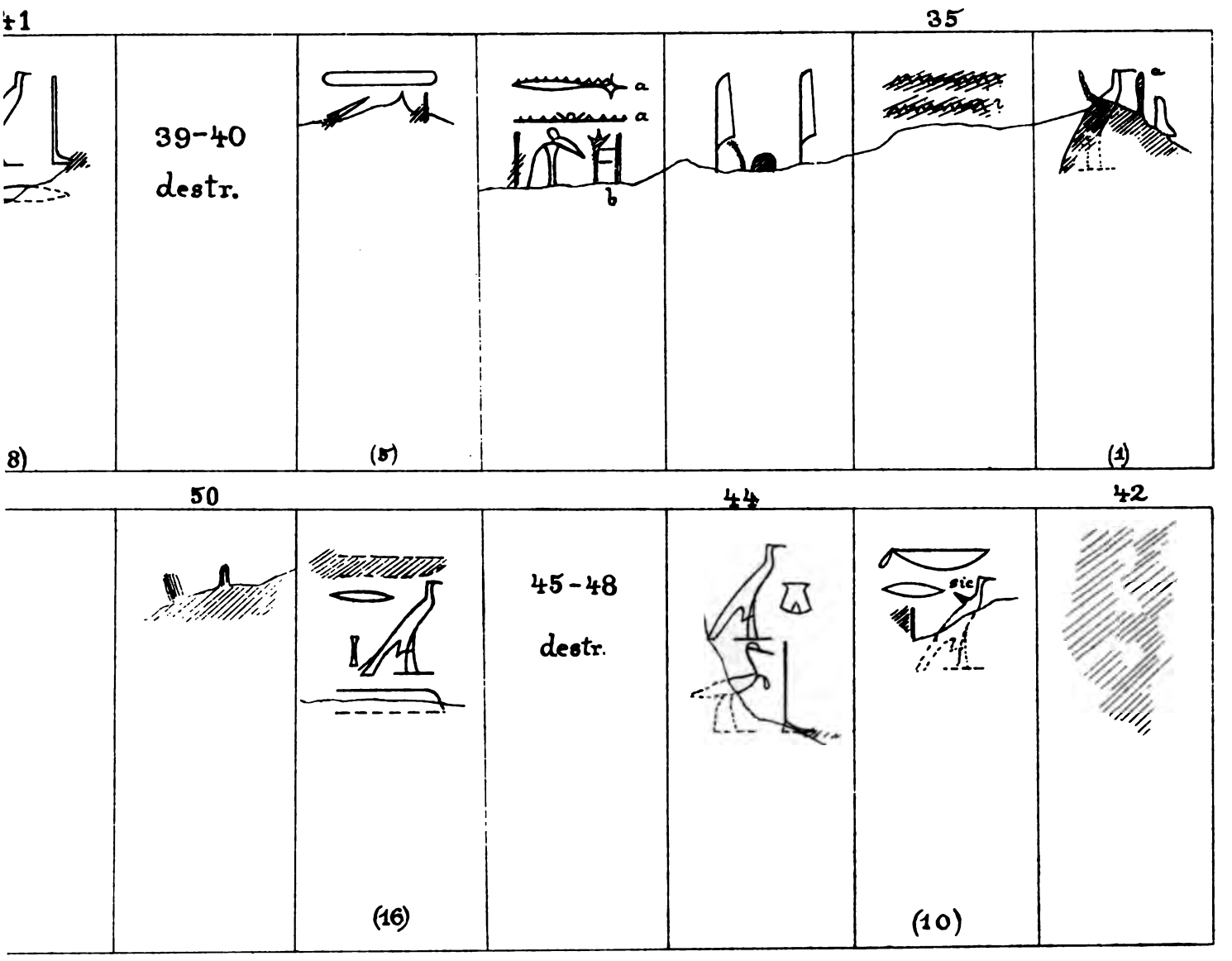
accidentally like ; read . Below like but too long?

end read 33 = R. III, 83? (there erroneous addit

— The series 25 foll. begins under the feet of Sapdu.

REBELLIOUS PALESTINIAN CITIES PUNISHED BY RAMSES II., ROW 6 AND 7.

KARNAK.



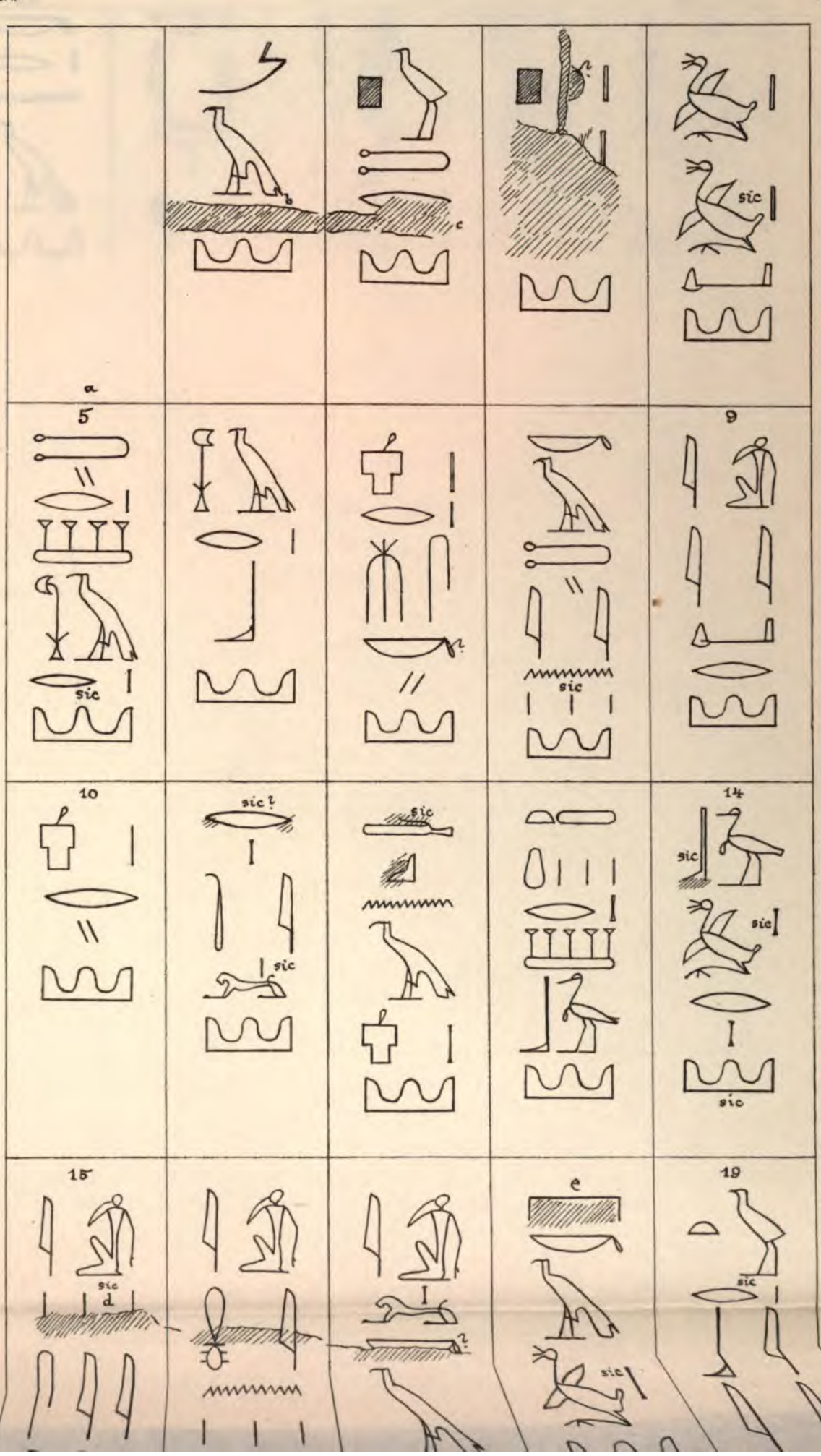
like (? no space?) 4a over b all corr.

accidental (or corr. to attempted?) — cp. R. III, S. 112.

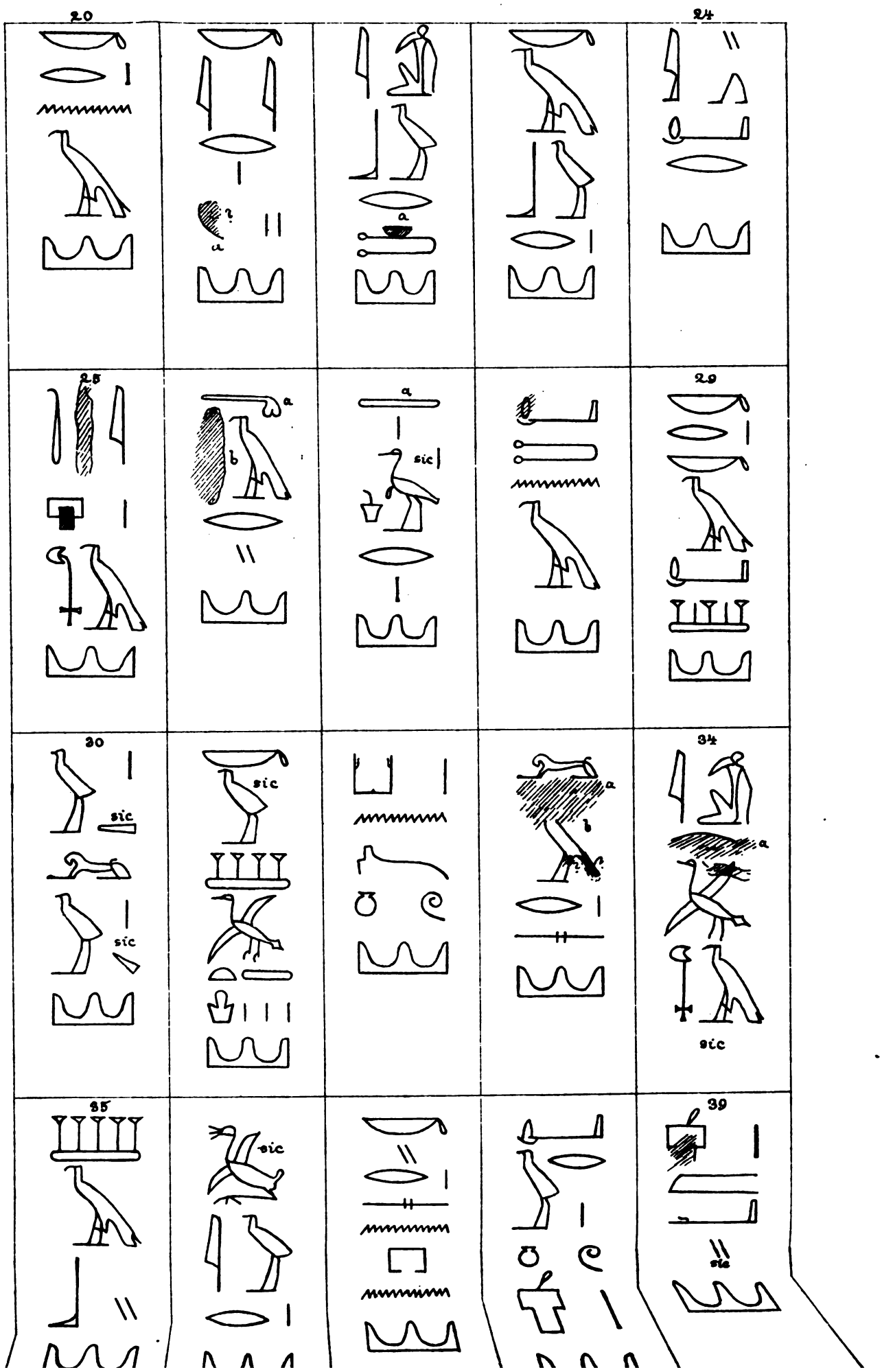
cp. R. III S. 122? 16a low, broad sign like ; cp. R. III, S. 74.

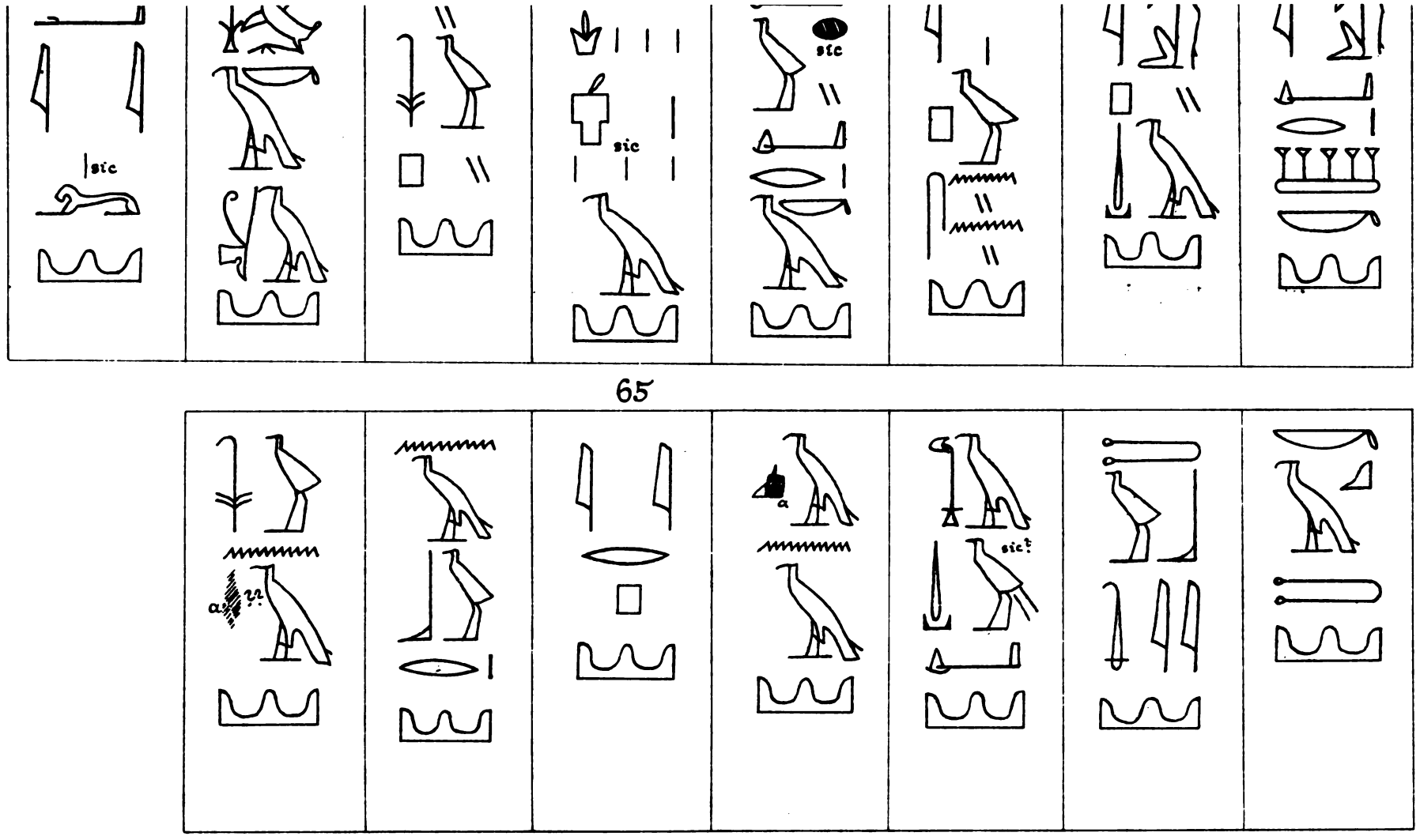
REBELLIOUS PALESTINIAN CITIES PUNISHED BY RAMSES II.
CONTINUATION OF ROW 7.
KARNAK.

PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHED, WASHINGTON, D. C.


a
5
sic
b
c
9
sic
10
sic ?
sic
sic
14
sic
sic
sic
15
sic
d
e
sic
19
sic

20
24


20
24
25
29
30
sic
34
35
39

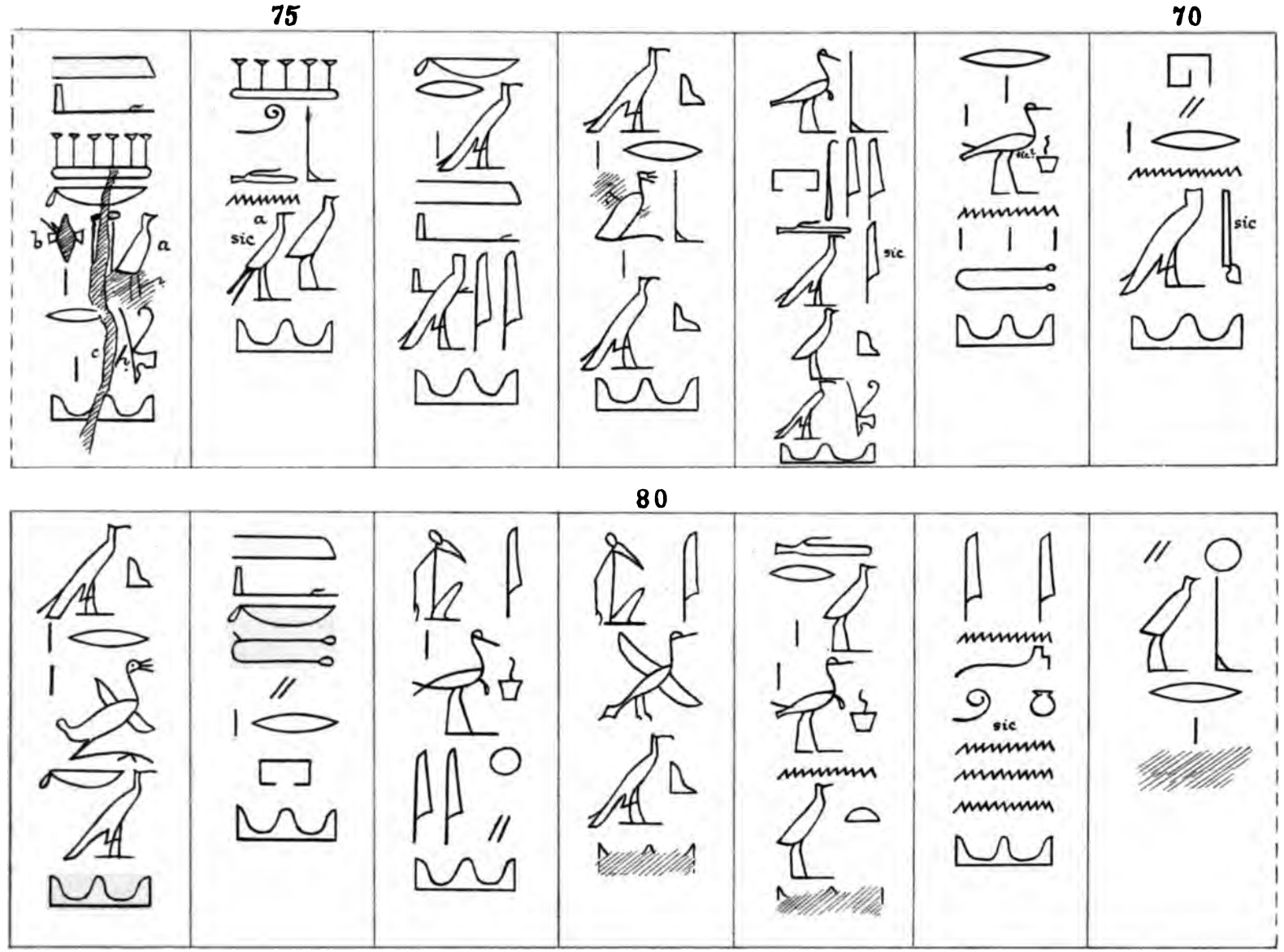


63a ?? more likely vacant than destr., but the space free for a sign. 66a ▯ over ⊿!

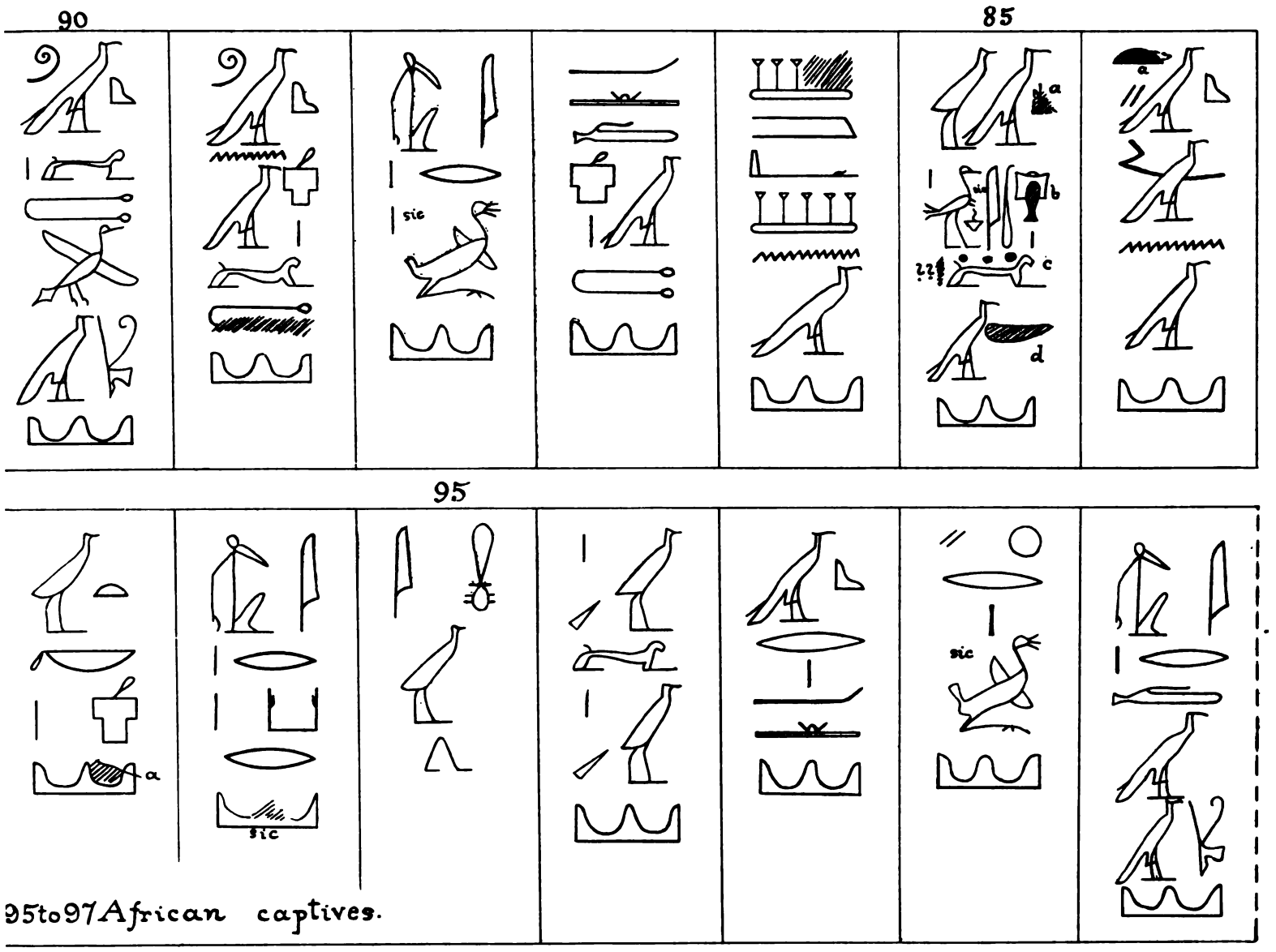
THE ASIATIC NAMES FROM THE GREAT LIST OF RAMSES III.

MEDINET HABU.

SOUTHERN PYLON, BELOW. RIGHT SIDE, 2ND LINE.



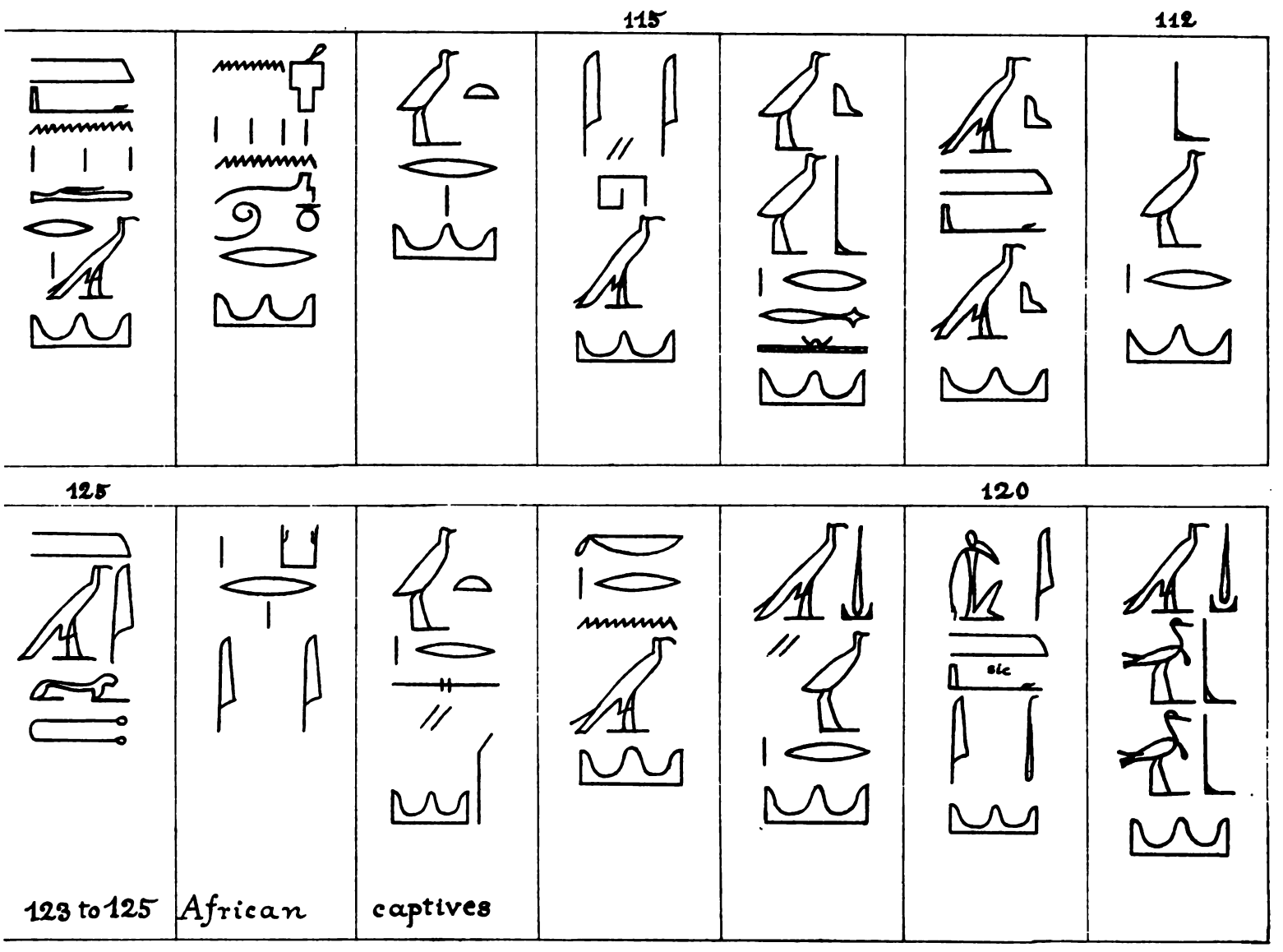
75 a corr. to ? 76 a or ? b , central part deep; intended c // ?? (left stroke in fracture?).



84a over 85a only a trace; unfinished? b cp. in 76.

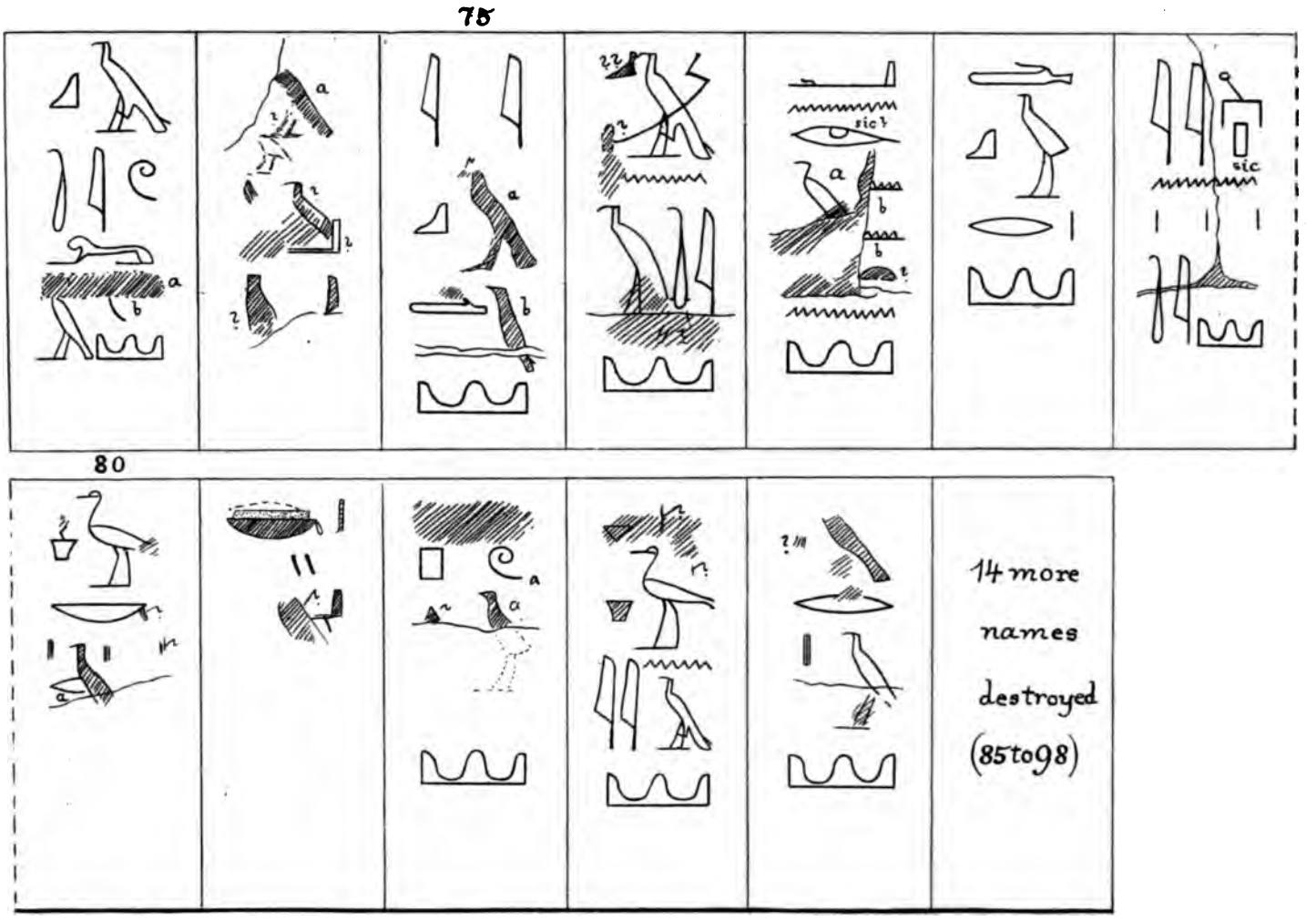
c erased? d unfinished. 97a no (Dar.), fracture.

THE ASIATIC NAMES FROM THE GREAT LIST OF RAMSES III.
AT
MEDINET HABU, SOUTHERN PYLON, LEFT SIDE, 1ST LINE.



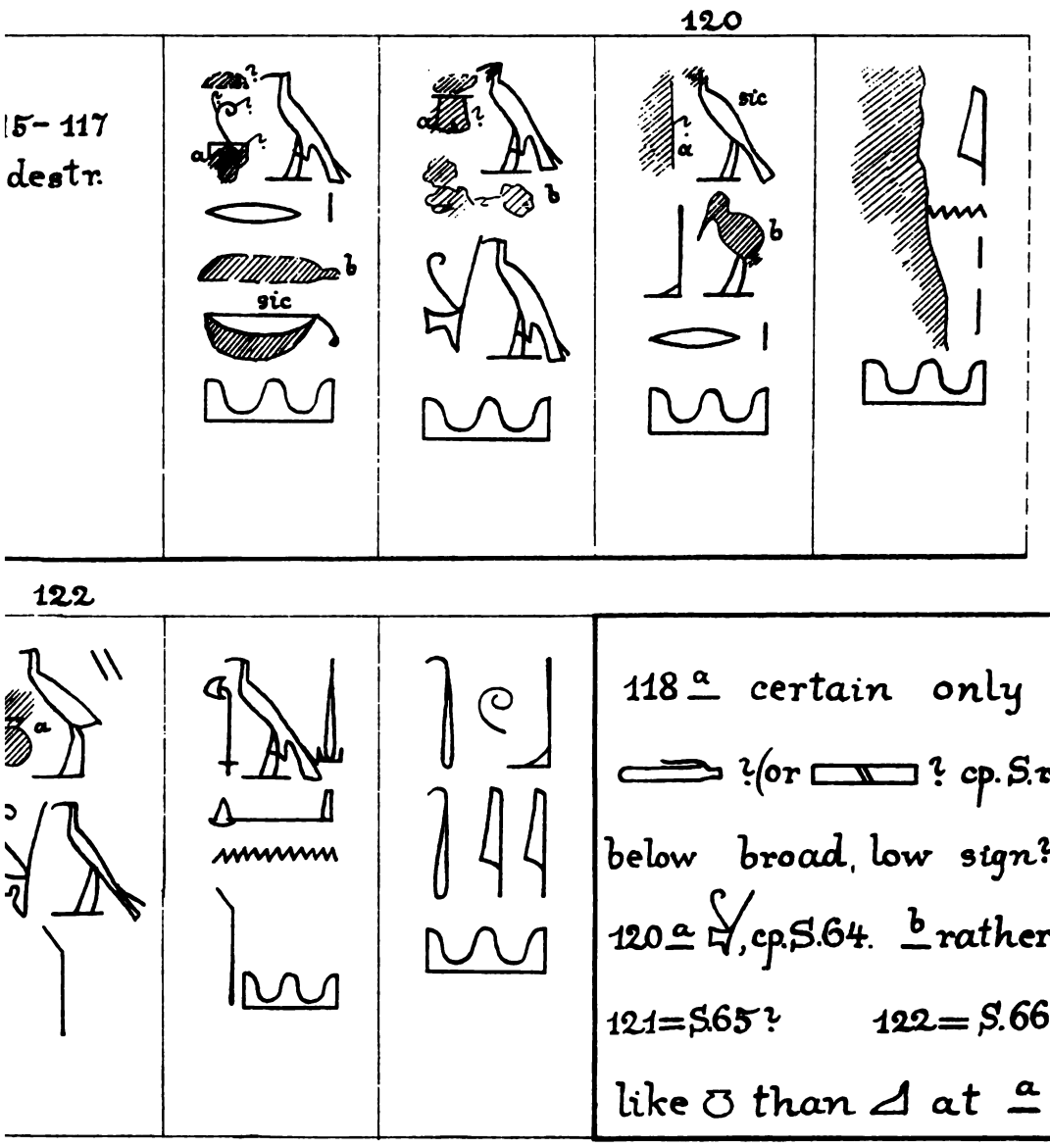
THE ASIATIC NAMES FROM THE GREAT LIST OF RAMSES III.
MEDINET-HABU, SOUTHERN PYLON, LEFT SIDE, 2ND LINE.

ANDREW S. DRAKE CO., PHOTO LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



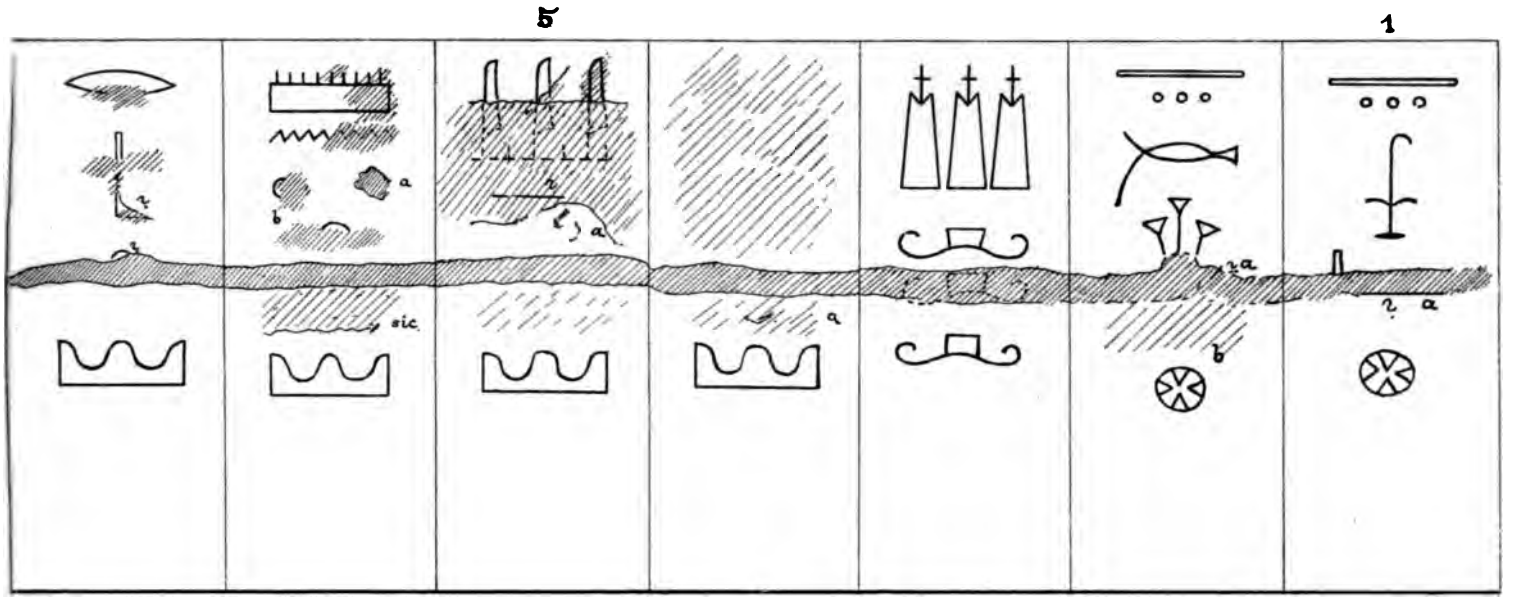
73a defect in the stone which must have been filled with plaster.
b ? 74a some erased bird. b corr.? c ?
75a & b ? 77a ? b ? over
80a 1st hand? 82a certain.

THE ASIATIC NAMES FROM THE GREAT LIST OF RAMSES III.
AT
MEDINET HABU, NORTHERN PYLON, RIGHT SIDE, 1ST LINE.



THE ASIATIC NAMES FROM THE GREAT LIST OF RAMSES II.
MEDINET-HABU, NORTHERN PYLON, LEFT SIDE, 2ND LINE.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



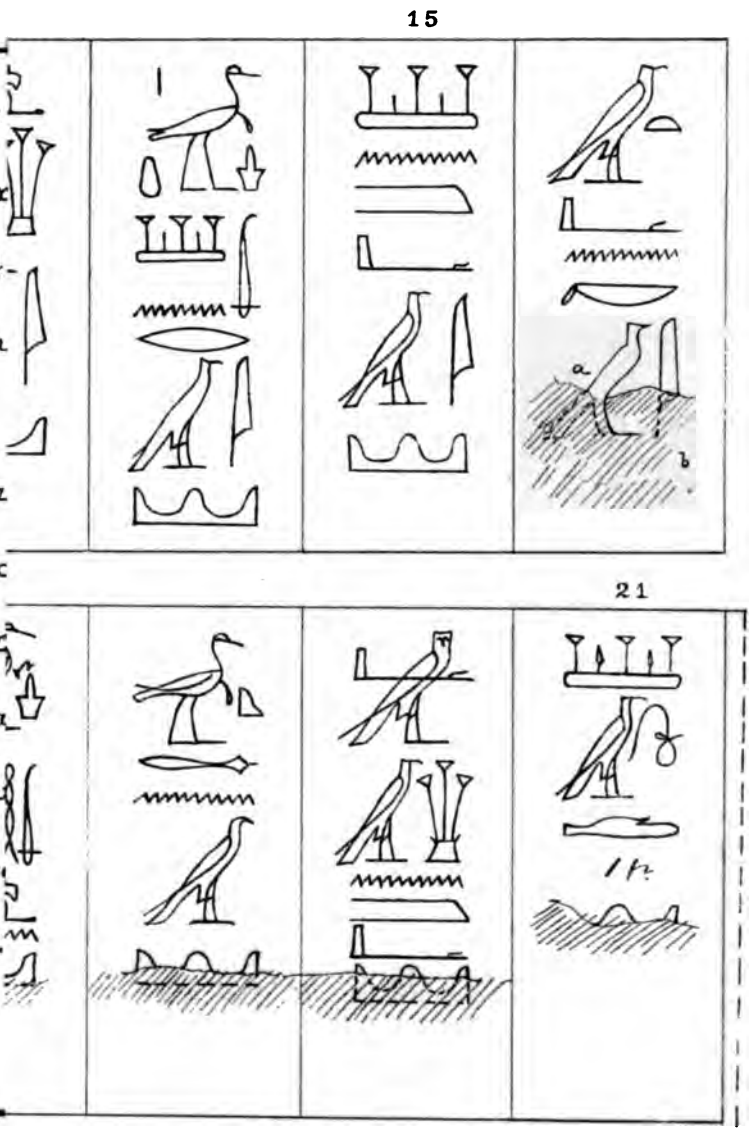
1a lower part clear on squeeze? 2a squeeze like of (?).
2b no space for 4a like but must be accidental.
5a strange trace, not like the expected , but cp. — above?
6a accid. hole; much like ? b sic! like , but accid. c upper trace certain: ; suggests (?). 7a sagacious reading of Masp.; a clear, b difficult: c and space suggest .

LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENK I, 1ST ROW, A

TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

ANDREW. S. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

14 a not , although not
racteristic. b no space for
19 a no determinative ?-
20 Rosellini read (m
middle; the photograph
it at the beginning; squeez
the original seemed ho
(only one trace = or
21 a slightly irregular a
shallow, especially the dou
stroke; the space, howev
favorable (cp. Brugsch).

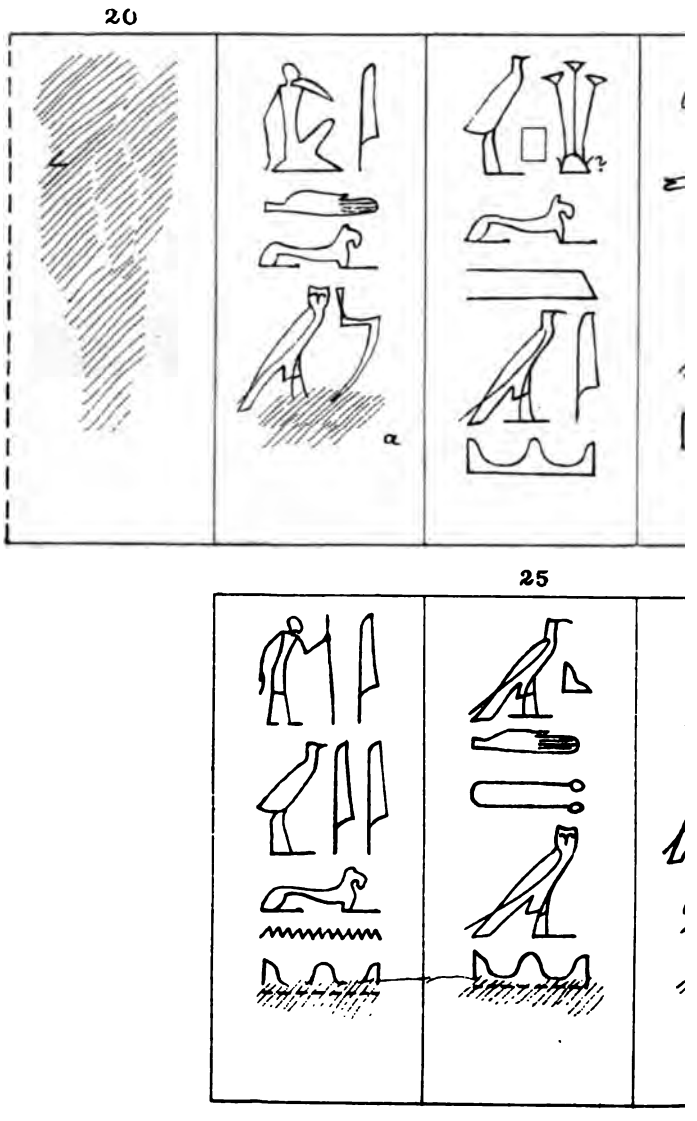


14 a not , although not very characteristic. b no space for ?

19 a no determinative?

20 Rosellini read (m?) in the middle; the photograph suggests it at the beginning; squeeze: ; the original seemed hopeless (only one trace = or ?).

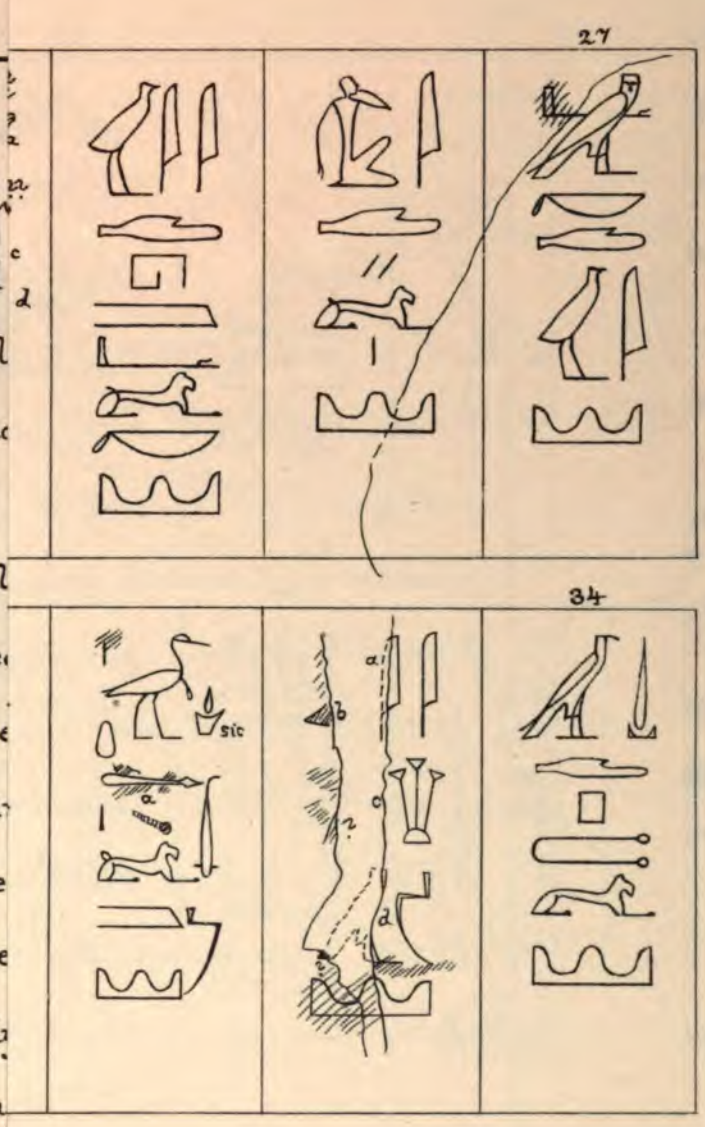
21 a slightly irregular and rather shallow, especially the doubtful right stroke; the space, however, is favorable (cp. Brugsch).



LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 2ND ROW.
TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

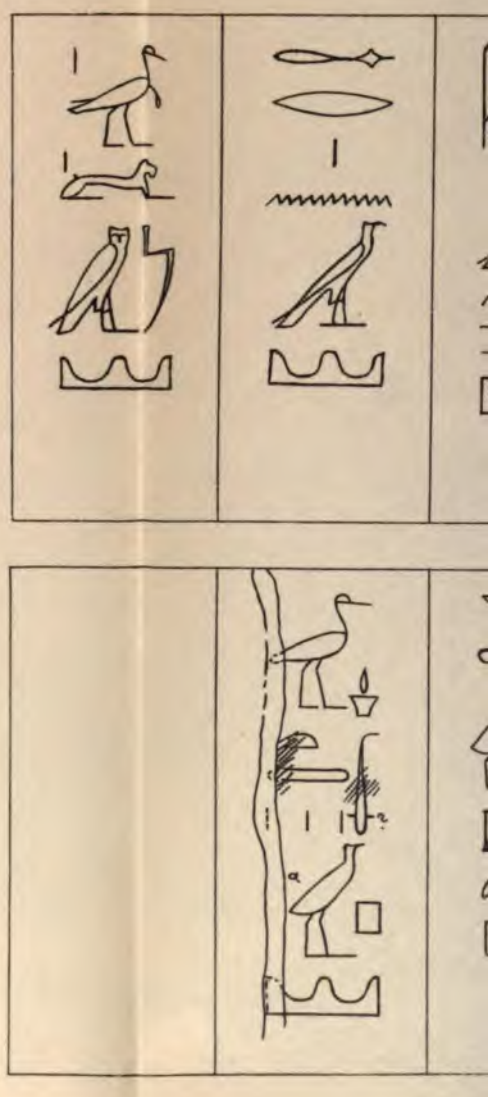
ANDREW S. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO LITHOGRAPHERS WASHINGTON, D. C.

27ª name now
like ⊢ ᵇ??(or
photo.) only head
ᵈ or ; unusual
on ladder. ᵇ acc
ᵈ good traces.
the is a small
sic plain (alre
39ª to be
no trace. Facsi
so far to the
behind possible
offer space onl
(cp. Brugsch's gu



W. M. MÜLLER.

27ª name now stolen. 30ª accid.; above like ⊢ ᵇ ?? (or ⊢ ??). ᶜ seems clear (cp. photo) only head unusually far to r. ᵈ or ; unusual? 35ª rather certain on ladder. ᵇ accid.?, too low for . ᶜ not ! ᵈ good traces. 36ª not (Champ., Masp.) the is a small, deep hole with a crack; sic plain (already on squeeze; cf. Lepsius). 39ª to be expected (בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ), but no trace. Facsimile of break: like like . so far to the r. that a narrow sign behind possible, but the fissure would offer space only for an unusually slender (cp. Brugsch's guess!)

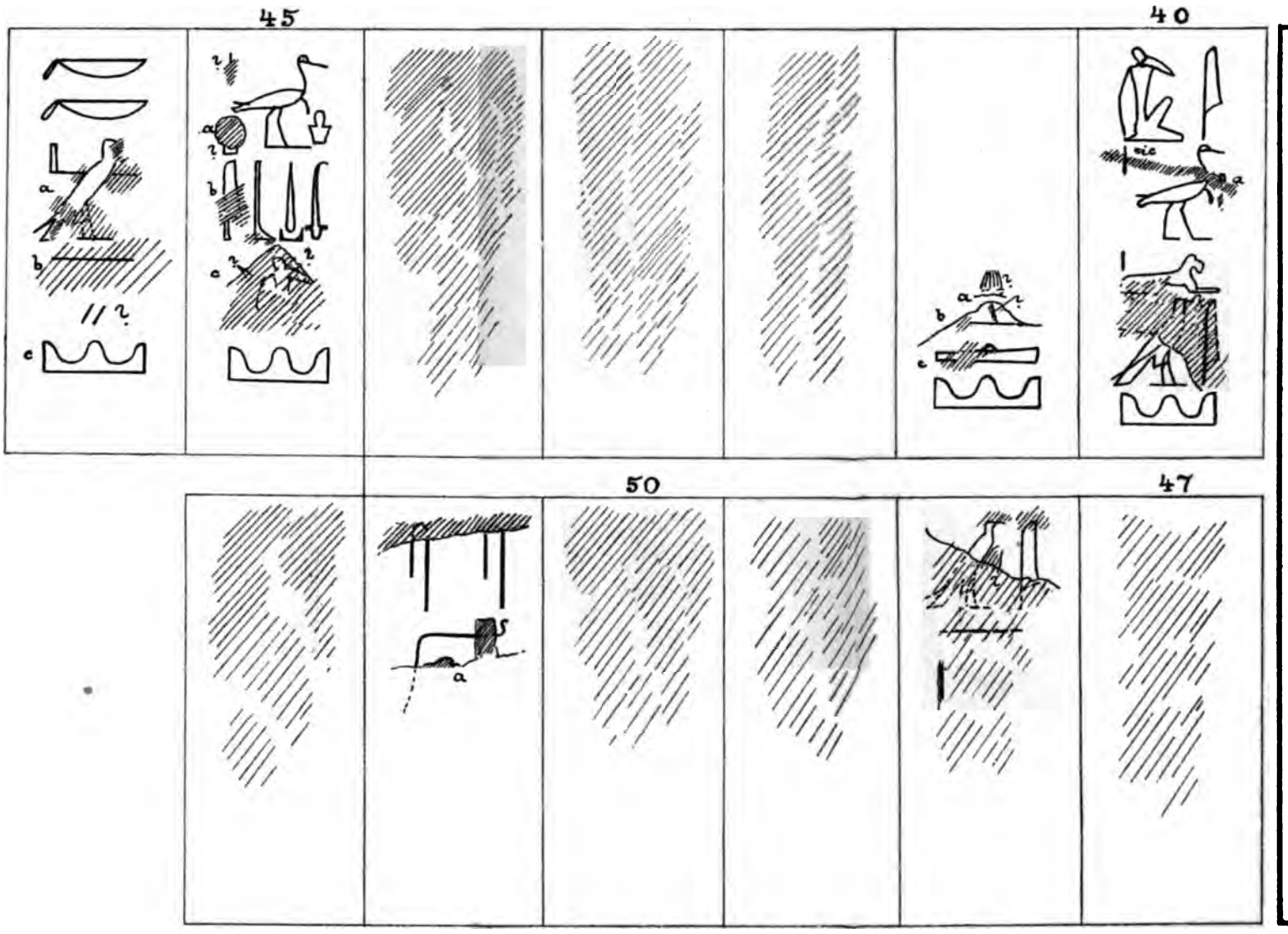


LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHEN

3RD ROW.

KARNAK.

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

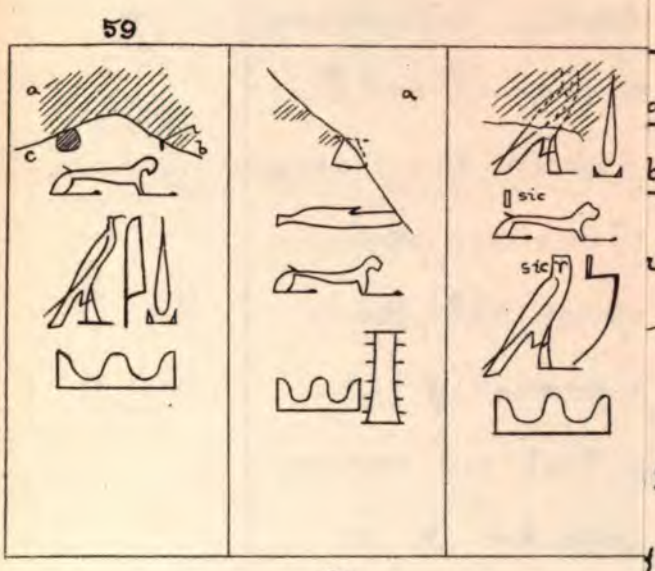


LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 4TH ROW.

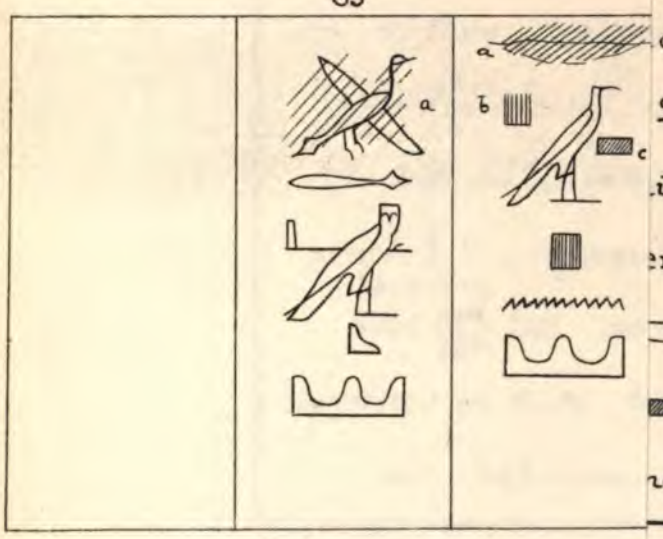
TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

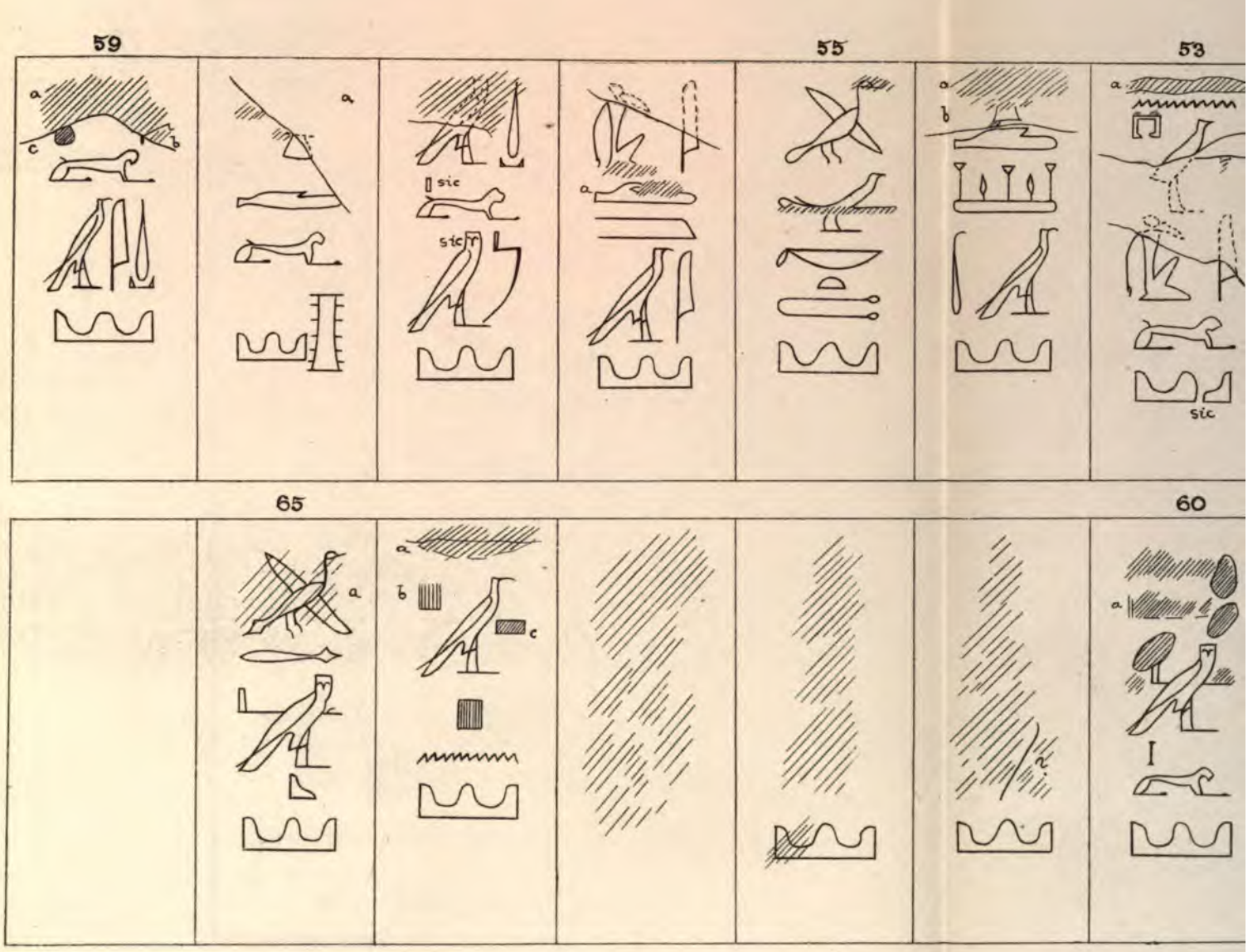
59



65



a vacant? very small space. b space for (sic?) but traces quite ubtful. c cleaned. 54a old erasure. accid. (not !) i.e. ?(abnormal correction?(see a). 56a a space very narrow for (sup- ? 59a no space for asp.); b or ?(no !). c the of ? a after (?) ?(not ,); ite certain only ; rest all ertain. 65a like or (not !). b rather than i.e. . 65a now very ndistinct.

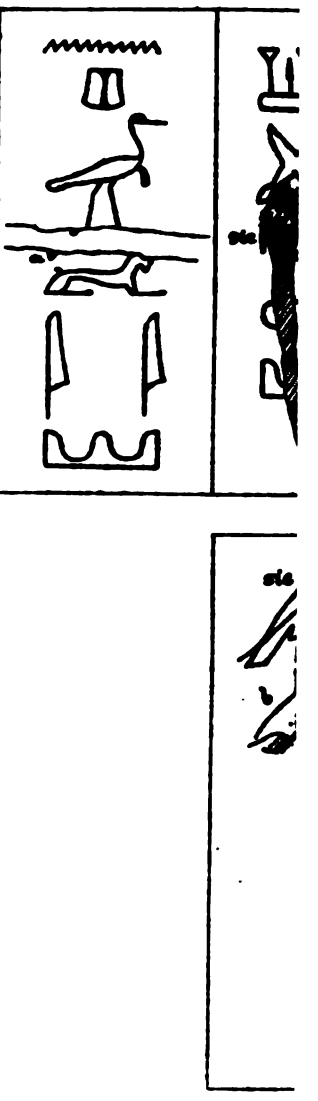


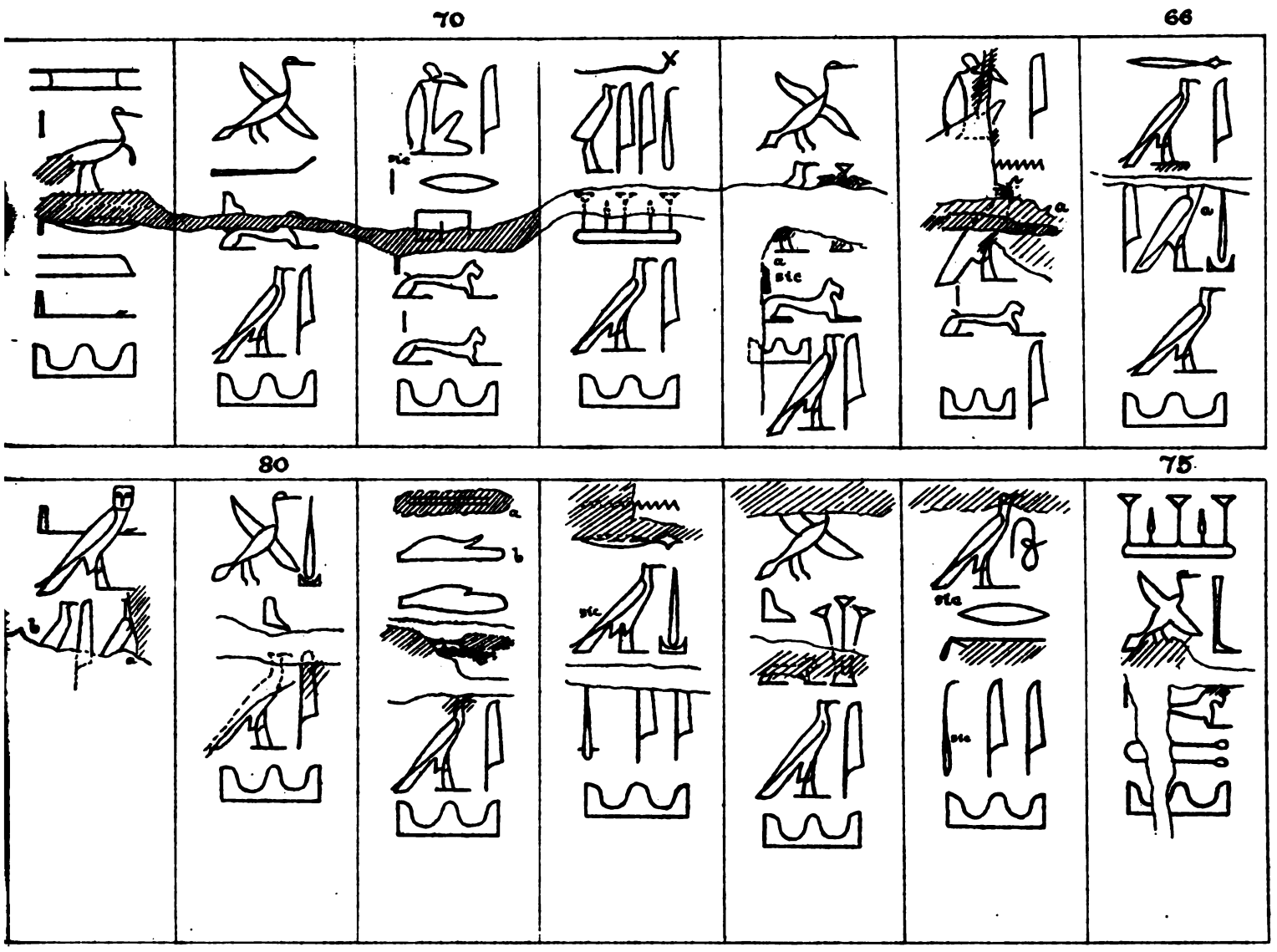
LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 5TH ROW.

TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

66 a certainly , cp. head (slightly broadening)
67 a on squeeze I believed to see i.e. ,
on original but all this accid. Read very
small sign (like) before (sic!) or, more probably,
will explain the vacant space. 68 a l; the
lost in lacune after ? 74 a trace of l?
79 a space for very low sign, but no certain
trace ?. b unusual , similar in 97.
c not or ? below like an
but accid., because almost touching
above. (on squeeze I had read but ??)
81 a head like , but orthography !! b more
(enlarged)
like cp. also narrow space. 82 a like
narrow ; central line of not quite in centre; &
too thin. unfinished? b small crowded in.



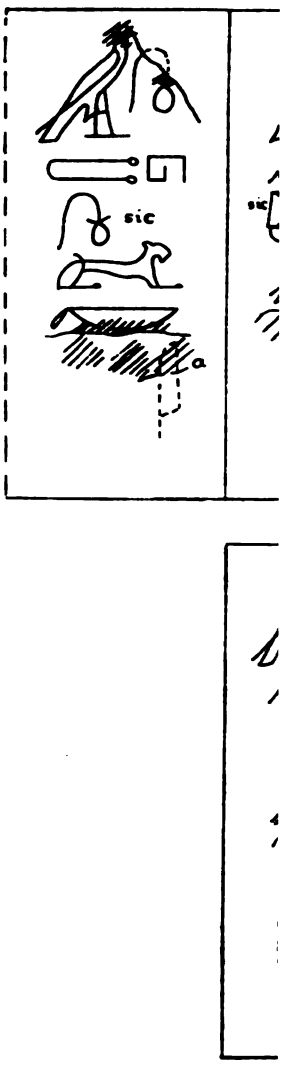


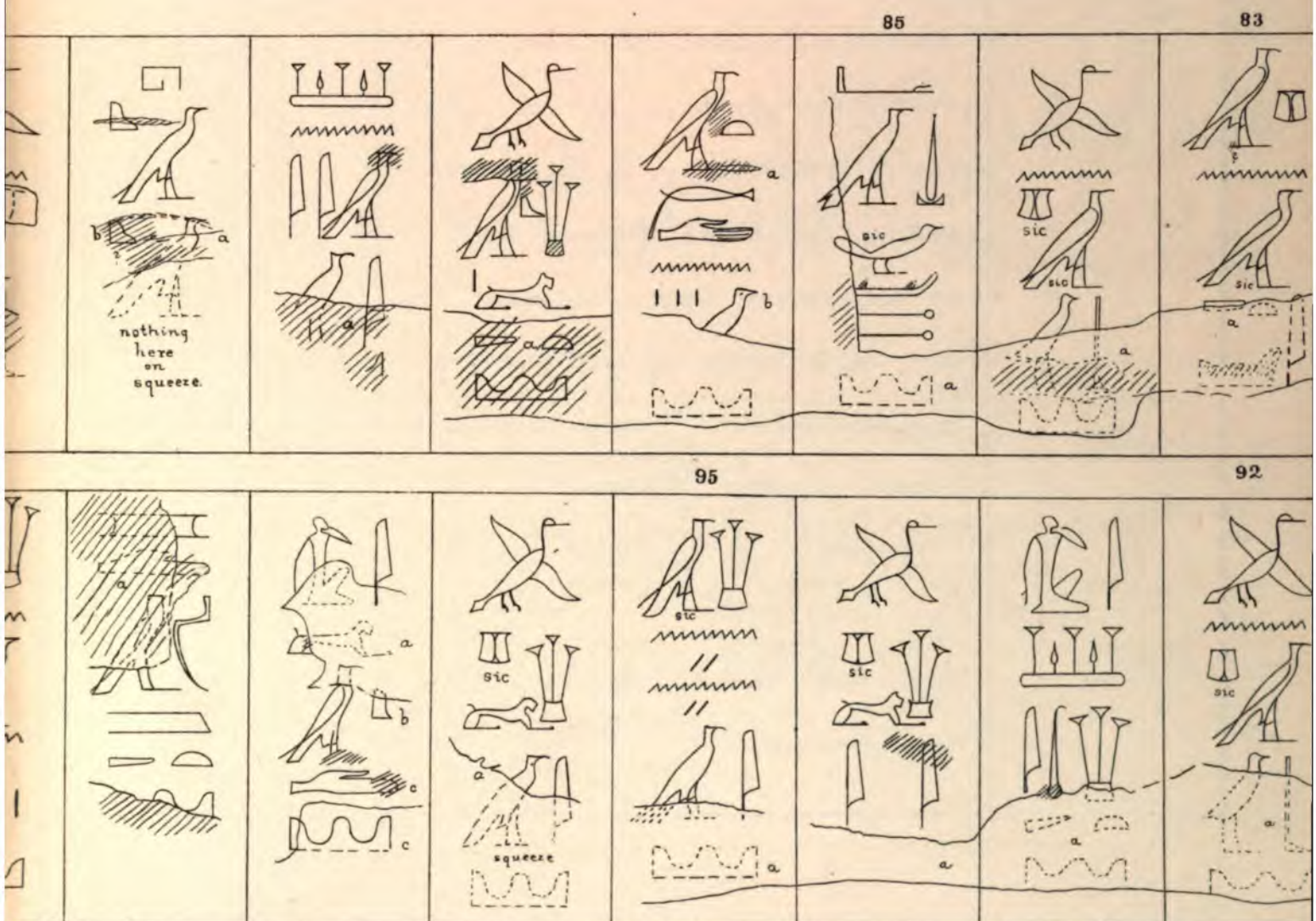
F PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 6TH ROW.

TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

83 a thus squeeze, now , like ; recently broken?
84 a squeeze. 85 a sq. 86 a nothing more; Maspero's
"? " break prolonging base of bird. b sic! or
? (on squeeze head seemed too thick for the 1st,
"almost like ? ") 86 c & 87 a sq. 88 a sq. 89 a seemed
certain; exactly under the upper-one, i.e. with equal
space for a small sign. b ?? left trace best: . (both
like ? accid.?) 90 a & b sq. 91 a sq. ?
92 a sq. 93 a sq. 94 a the expected not
visible on sq. 95 a sq. 96 a traces? 97 a sq.
b like , too narrow for (Champ.). c sq.
98 sq. on which not much different from





LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 7TH ROW.

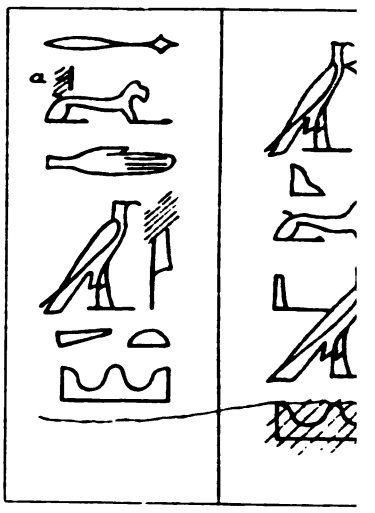
TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

ANDREW J. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS. WASHINGTON, D. C.

100 a determinative unusually high; lacuna? (cp. Brugsch), Champ. , now gone? sq. seductive ? (but orthography!?). 101-102 partly after sq. 102 a no space for (Champ), sq. 105-108 now in Berlin museum; shaded parts after sq. 108 a fractured, cp. sq. & 110). 113 a ?? original; on sq. I had guessed ? or fancy!

116 a much more than (Leps.); evidently cp 100.

sic not (Leps)?



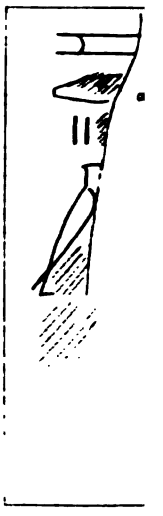
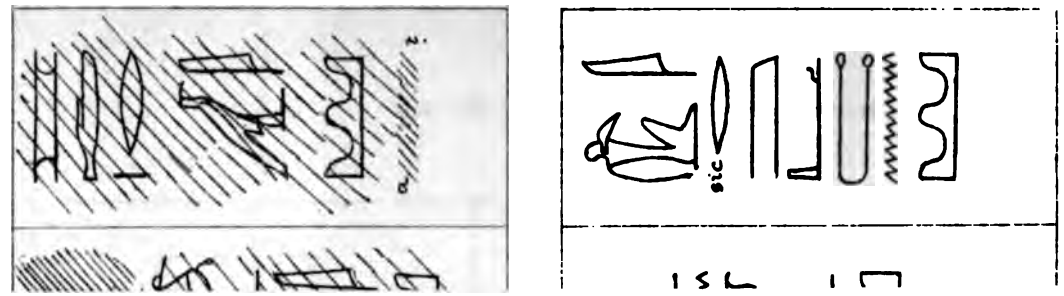
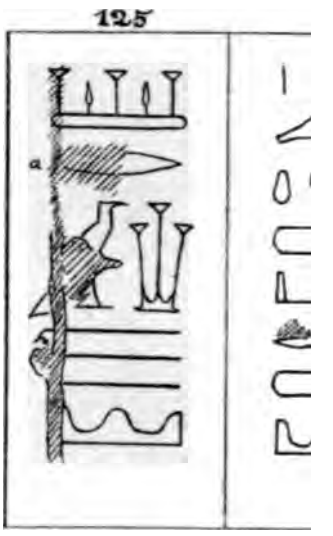


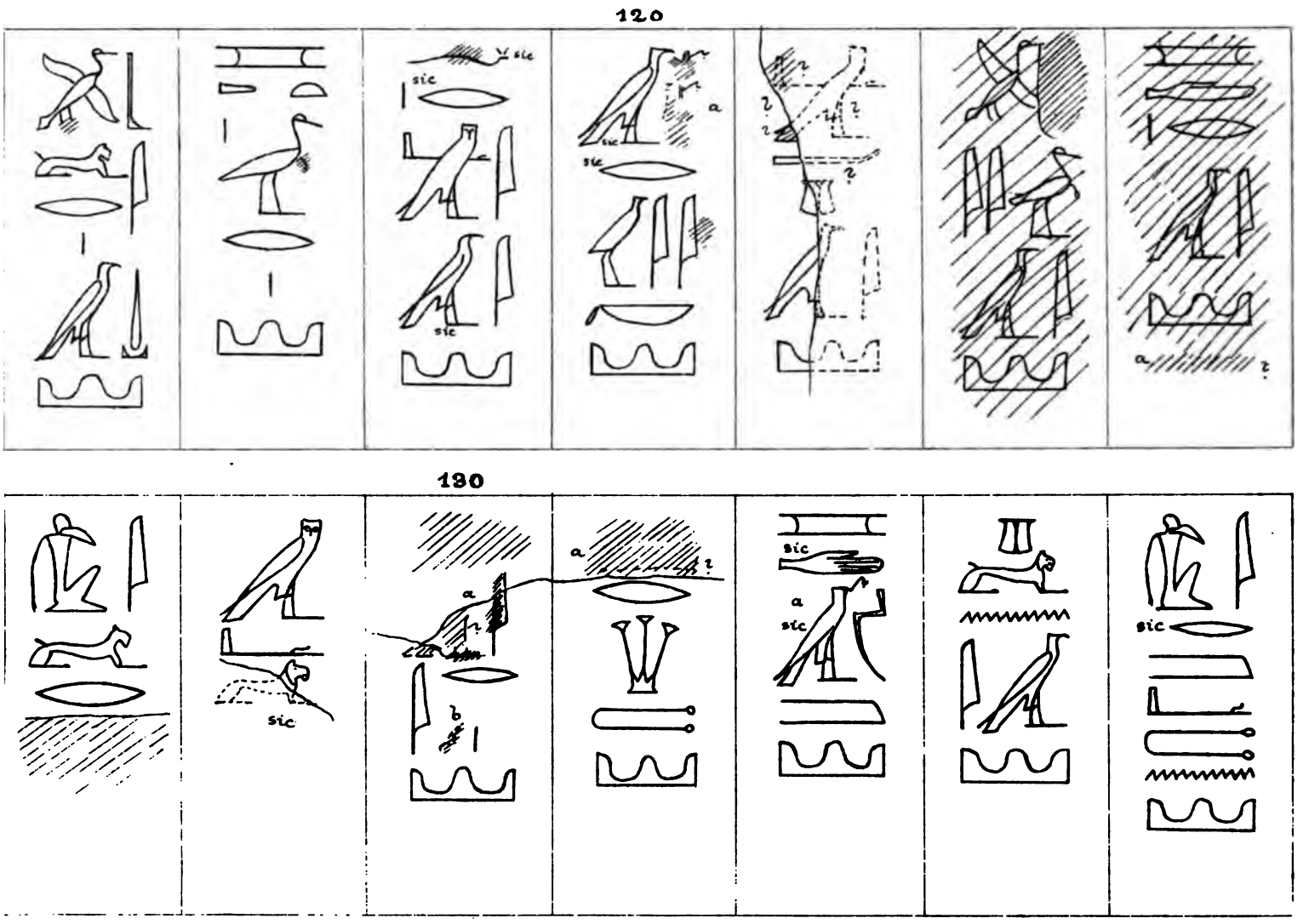
PLATE 84.



117–118 now lost; 117a lacuna after Brugsch, cp. 100. 119a difficult traces only left; etc. Lepsius; evidently by restoration. Champ.: etc. I copied: "like but too high." "like" reexamination needed. 120a above like (?), below like (??, very shallow). 125a no l. 128a "head (and thin body?) more (but no beak??); might be (photo. ?). 132a broad traces? like ? 133a narrow? b accid. 133a very narrow for ; read ?

125





LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 5TH ROW.

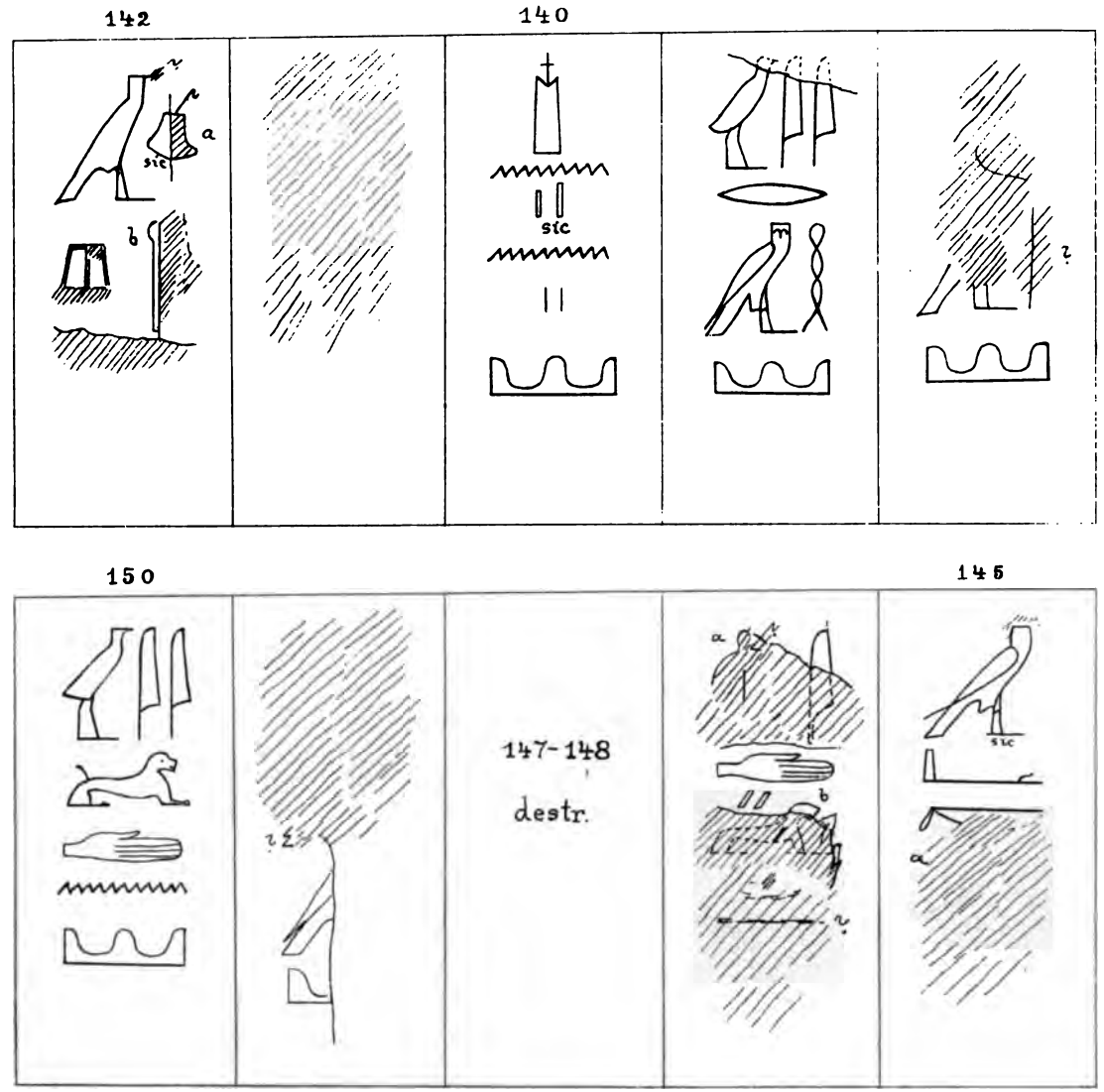
TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

142 a like a poor (?) but outlines only; all accidental?? (our text mostly uses for)

b i.e (or ?).

145 a space only for a low sign and

146 a rather than ? b certain; head of .



134-137 destr.

143-144 destr.

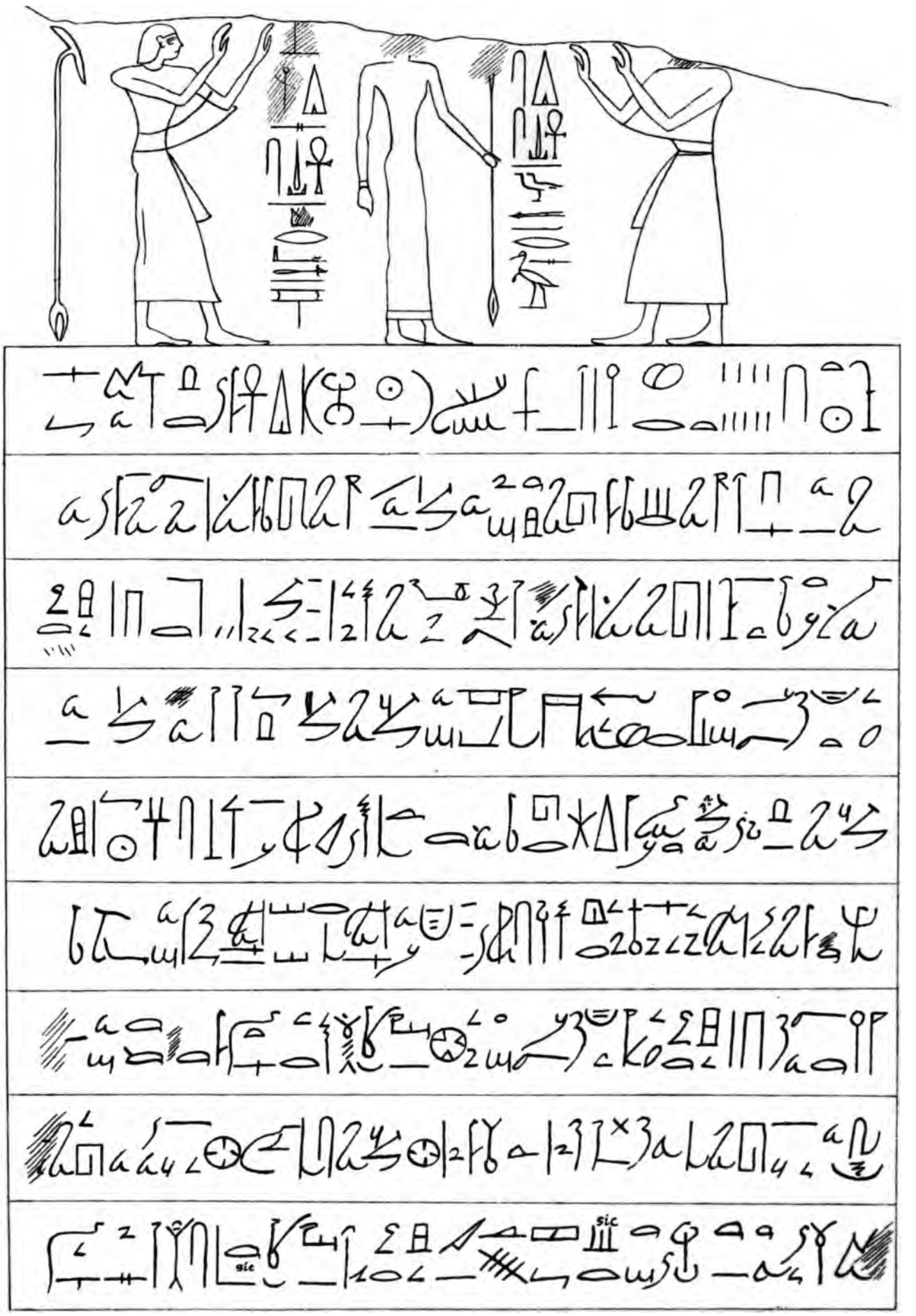
LIST OF PALESTINIAN CITIES BY SHOSHENQ I, 10TH ROW.

TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

LIST OF SHOSHENḲ I. UPPER HALF.
TEMPLE OF KARNAK.

HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.



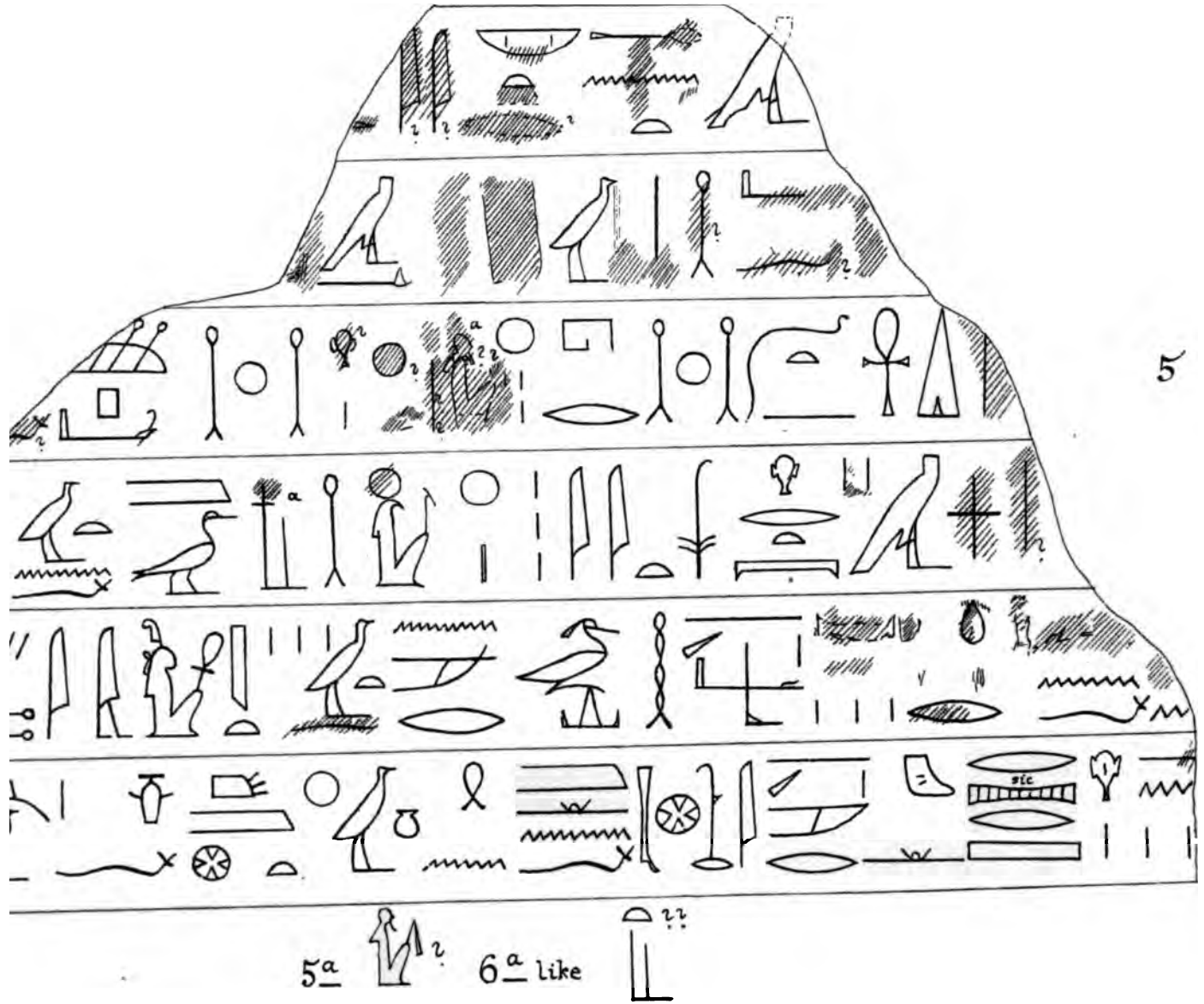
5

9

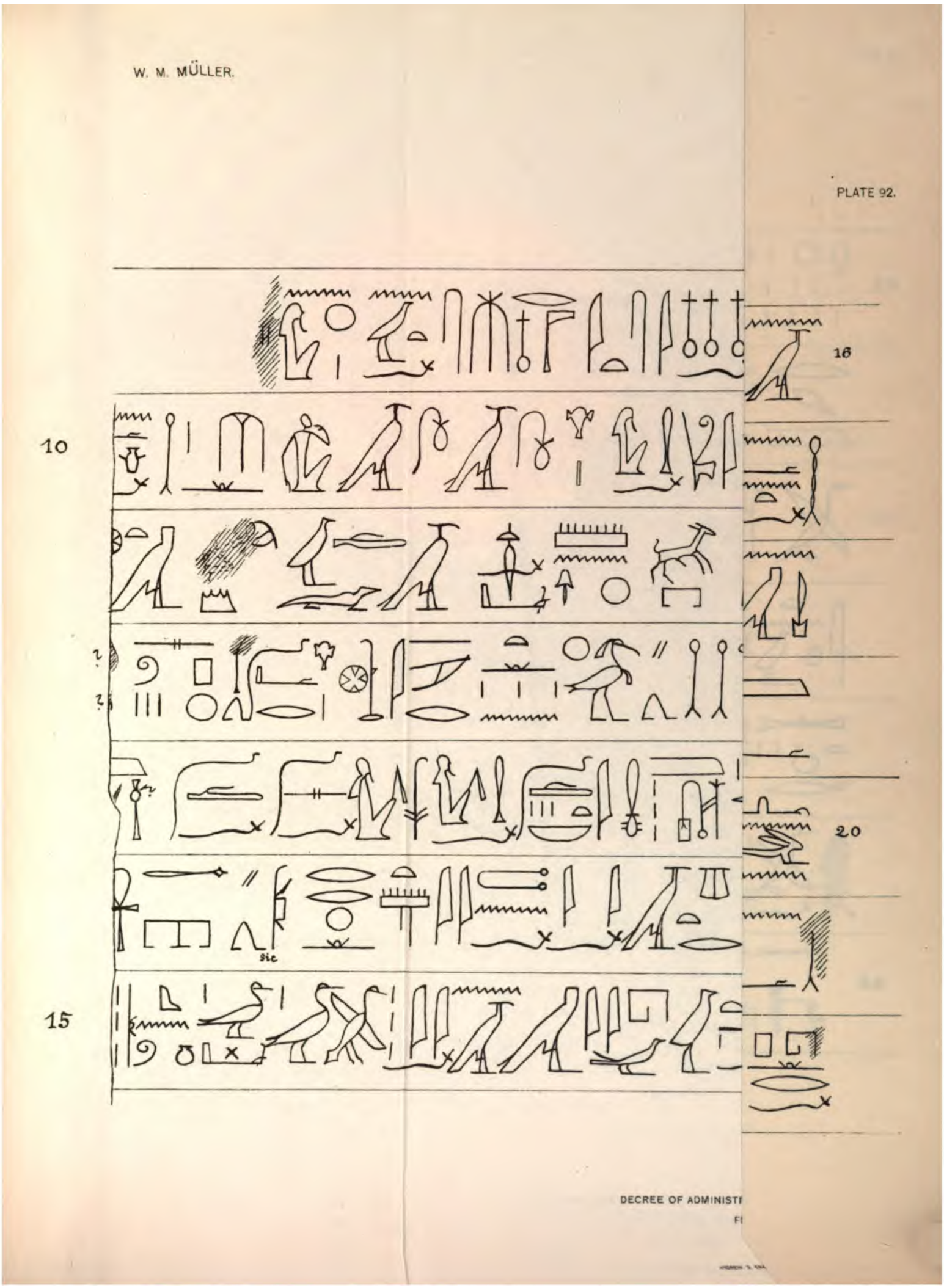
DEDICATION OF A FIELD BY THE LIBYAN SHIELD BEARER OF SHOSHENQ IV.

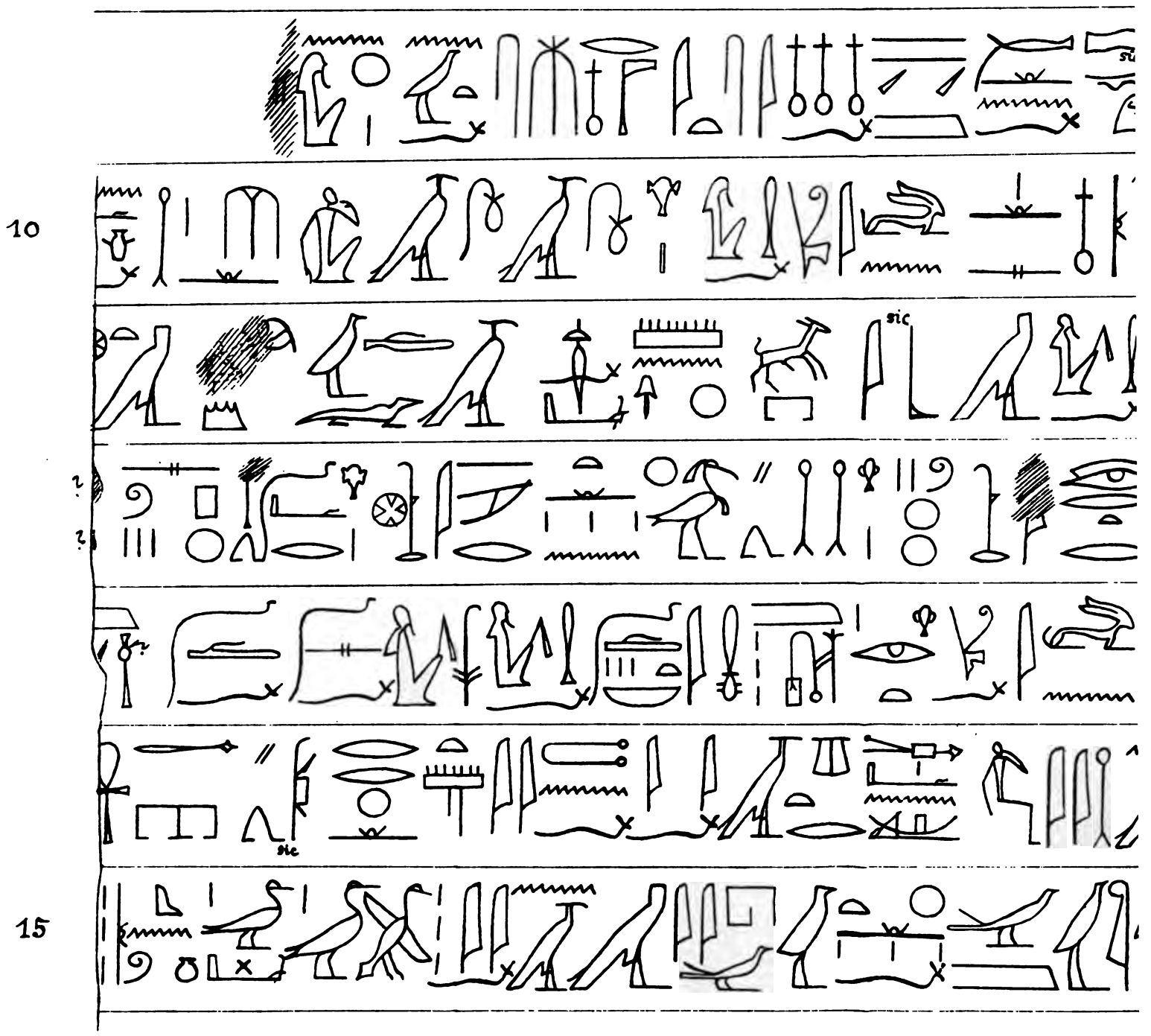
CAIRO MUSEUM

ANDREW B. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

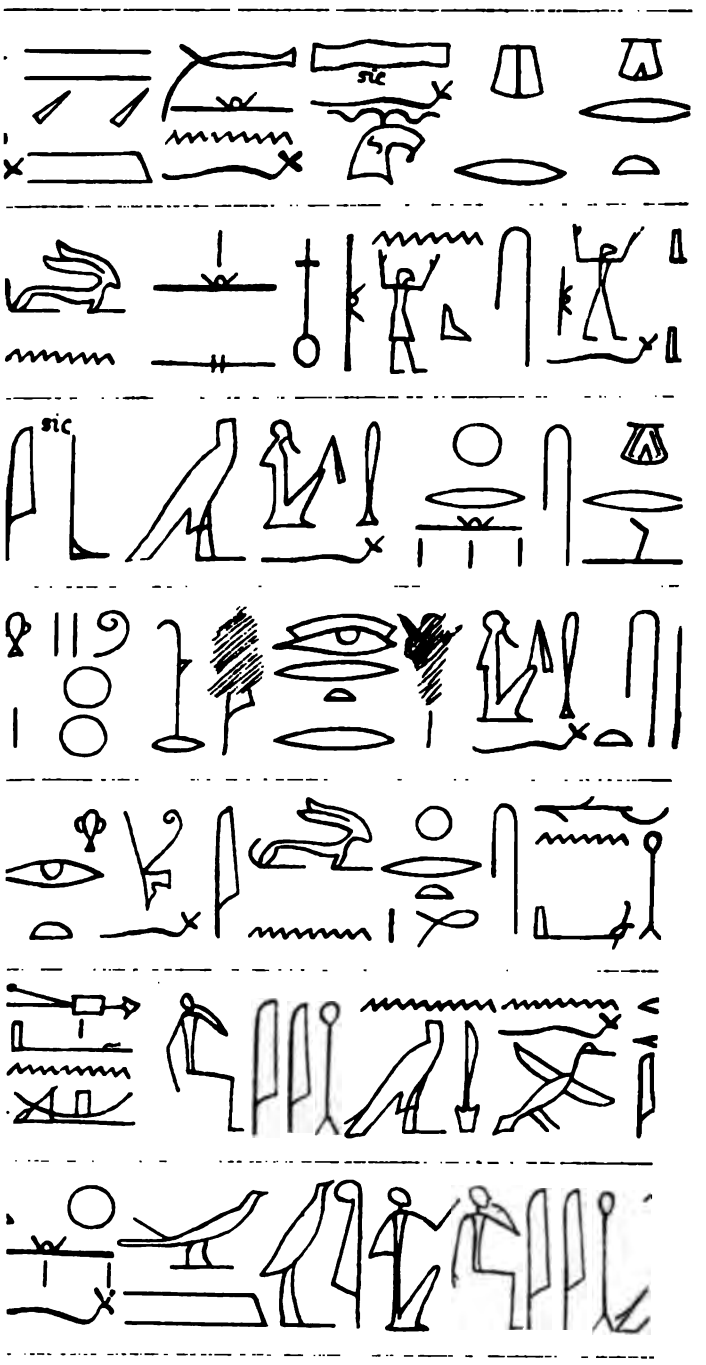


DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.
FRONT, LINE 1 TO 8.


10
15
16
20
sic



DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.
FRONT, LINE 9 TO 15.
KARNAK

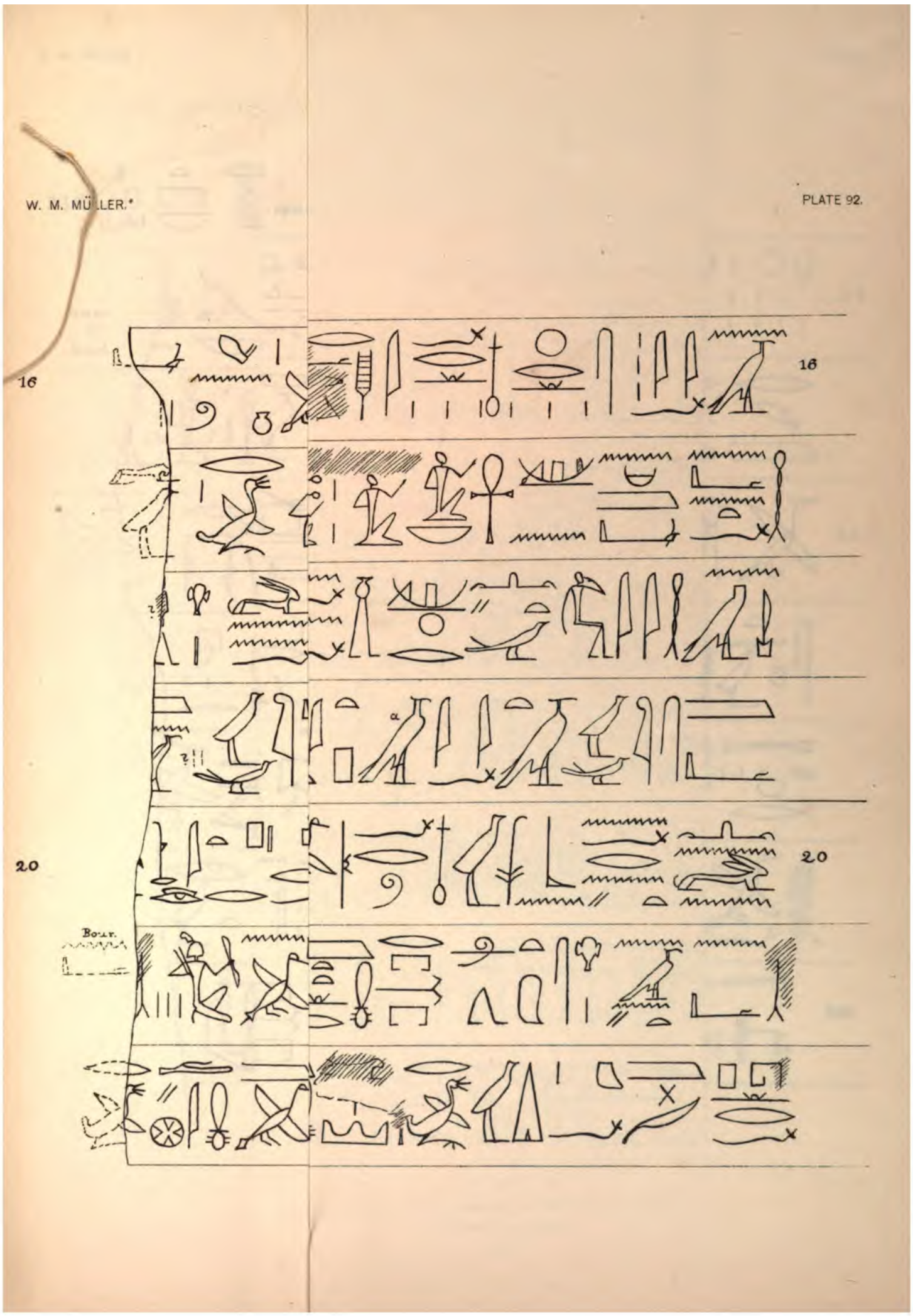


PEFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.

E 9 TO 15.

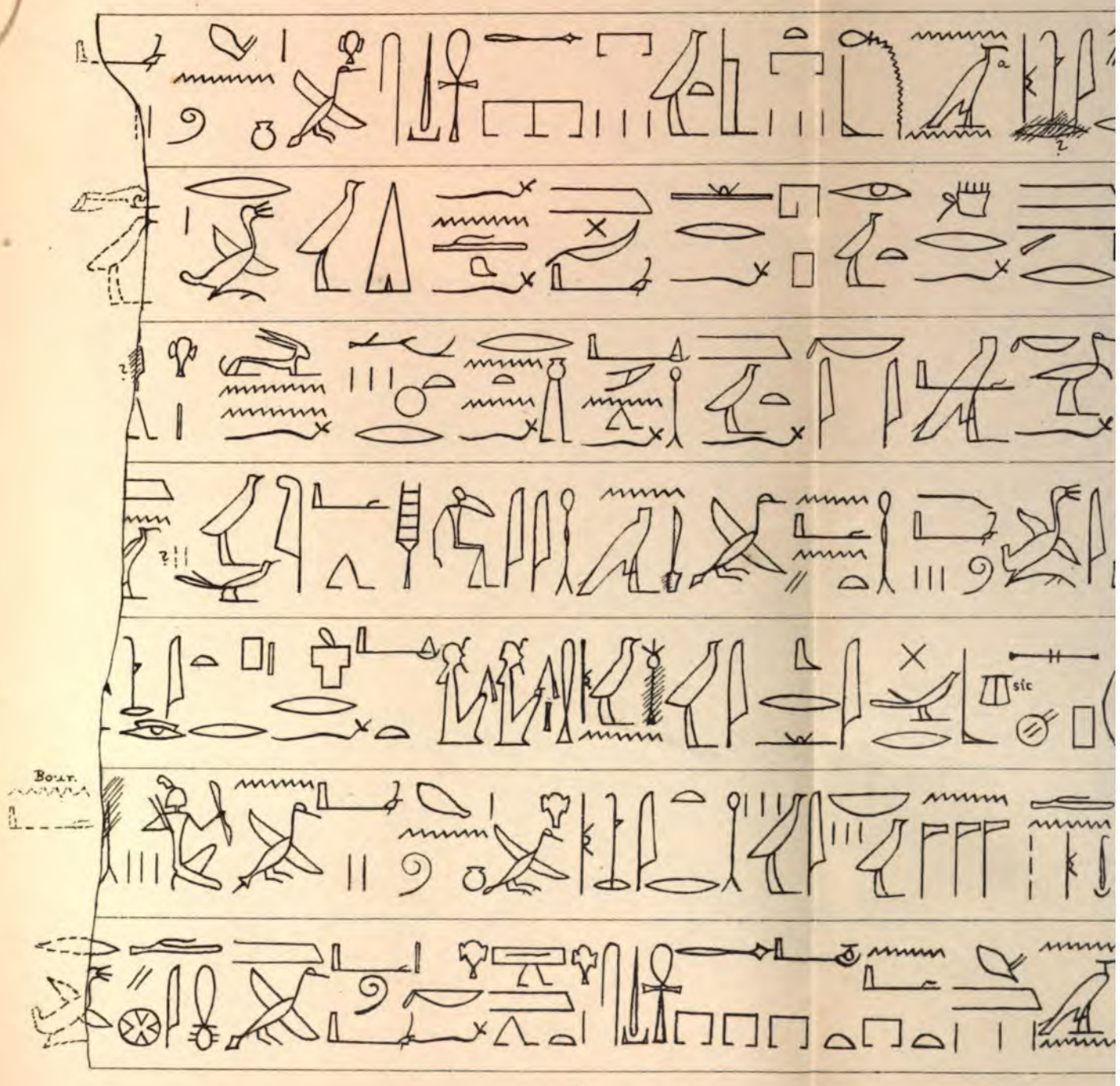
IK

[illegible], WASHINGTON D. C.


16
16
20
20
Bout.

W. M. MÜLLER.*

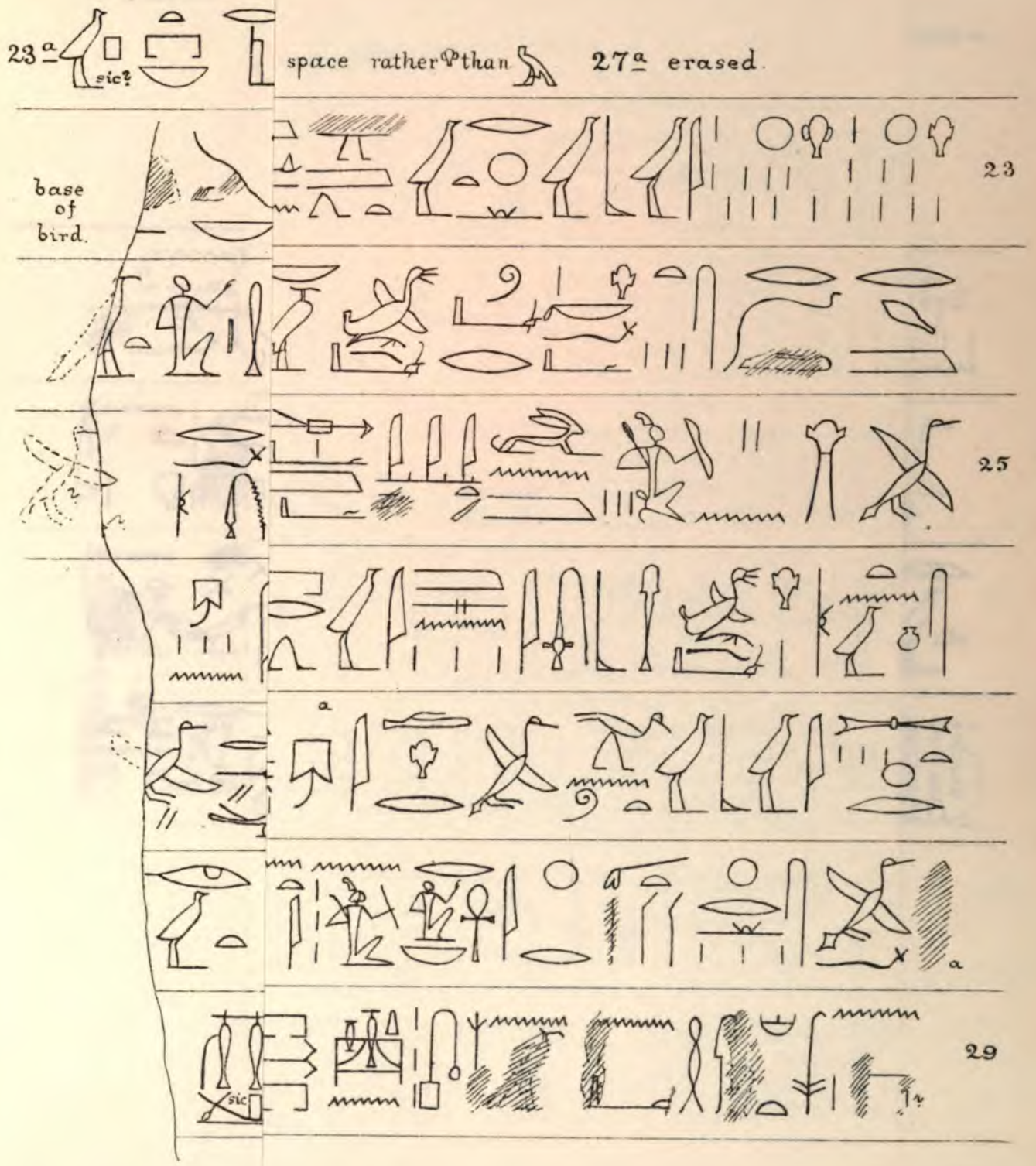
19a over erasure. 16a unfi

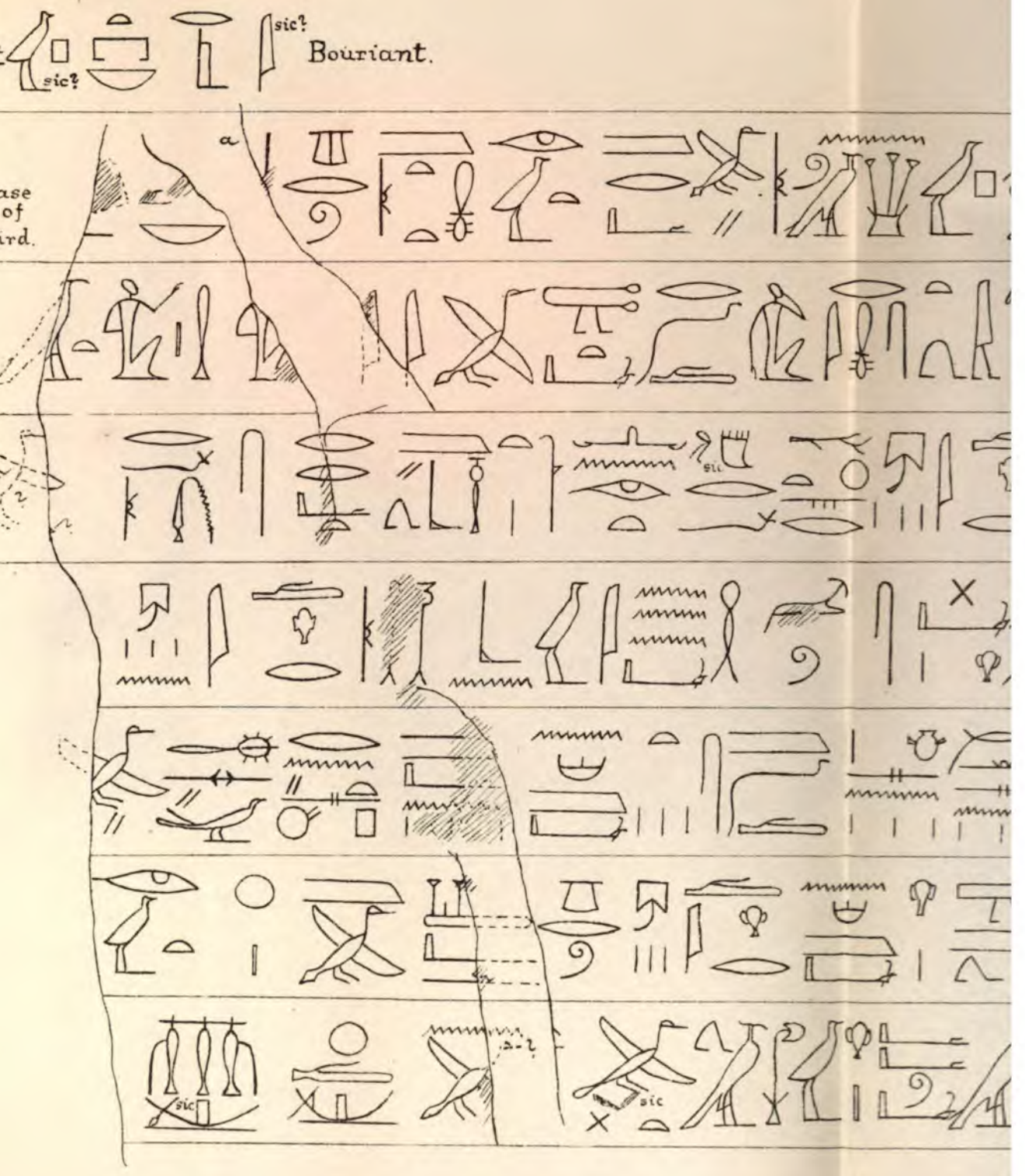


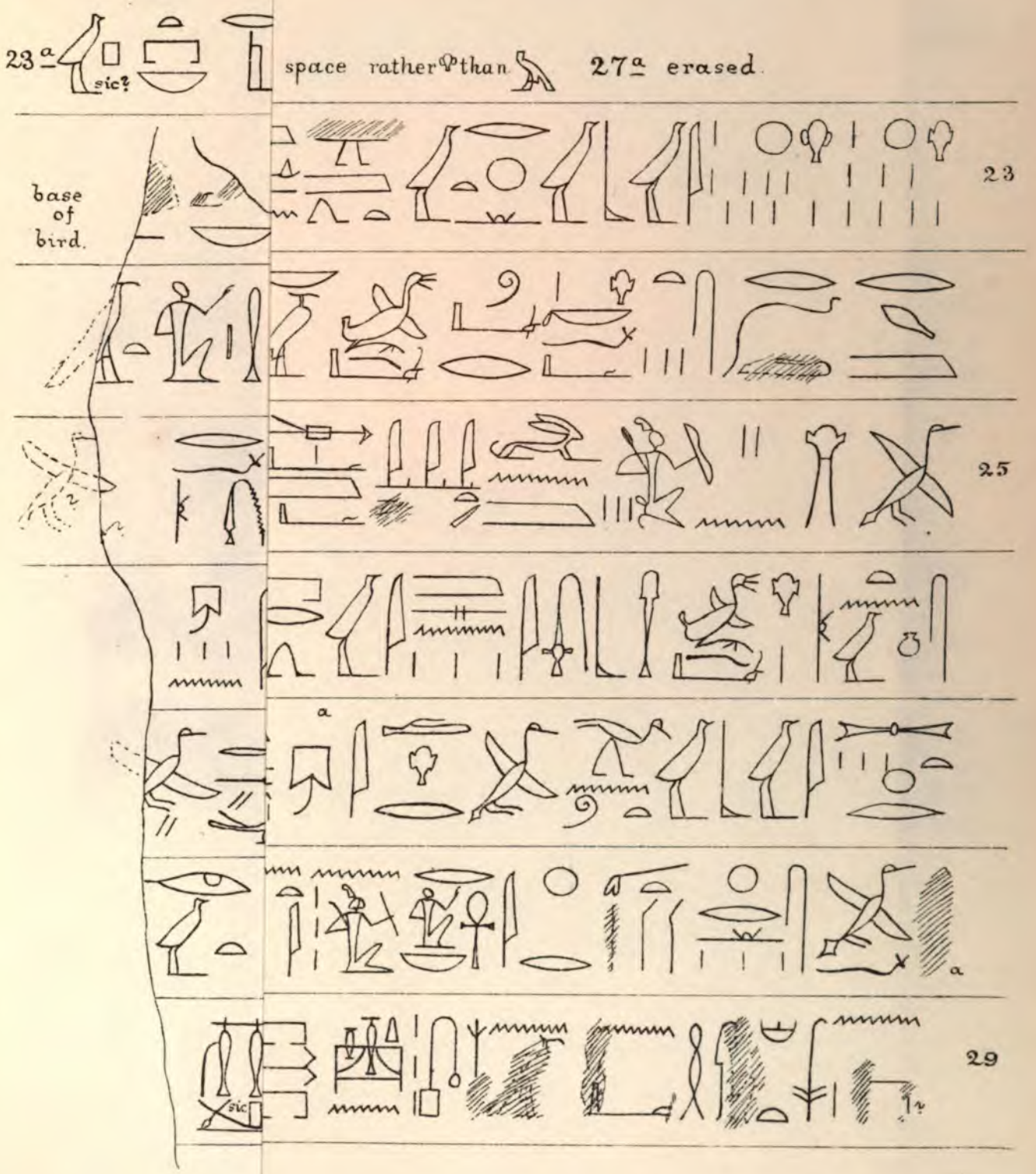
DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

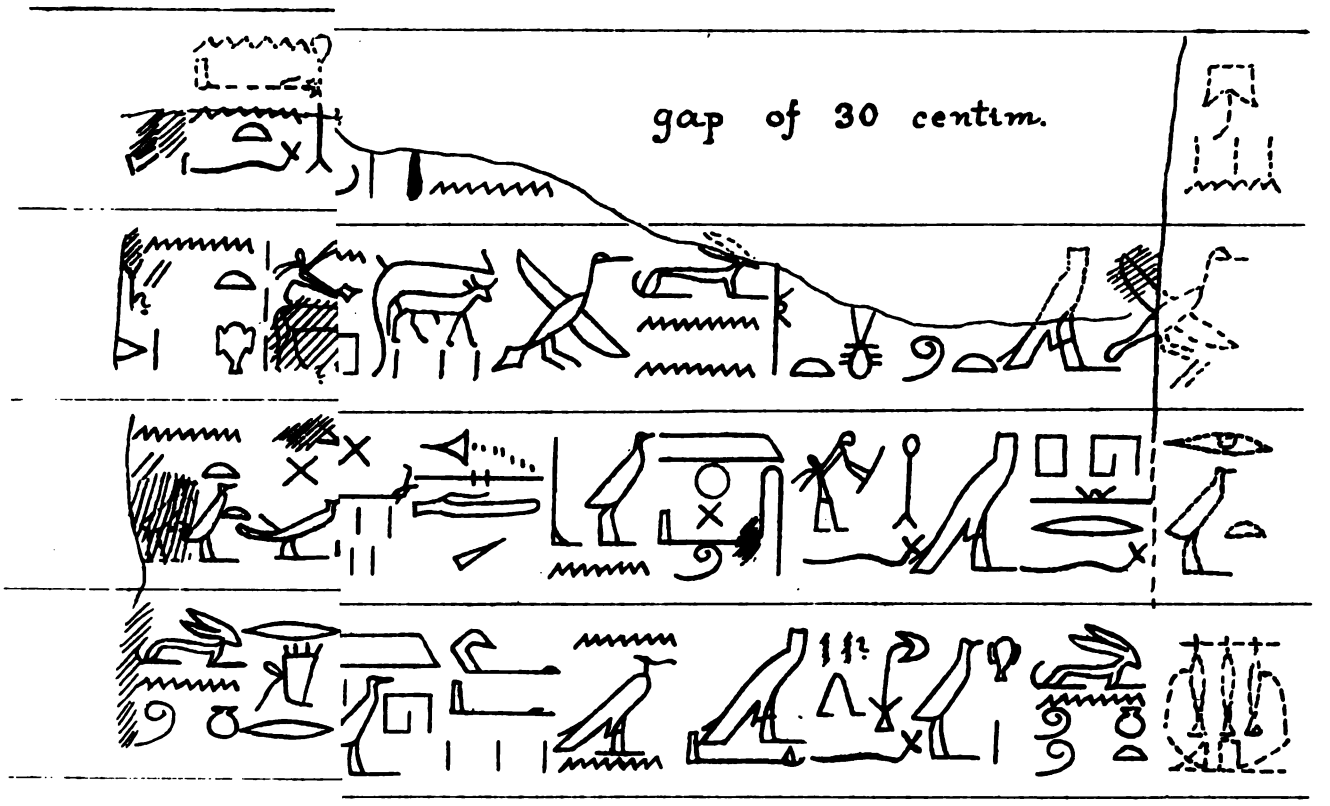
FRONT, LINE 16 T

KARNAK.

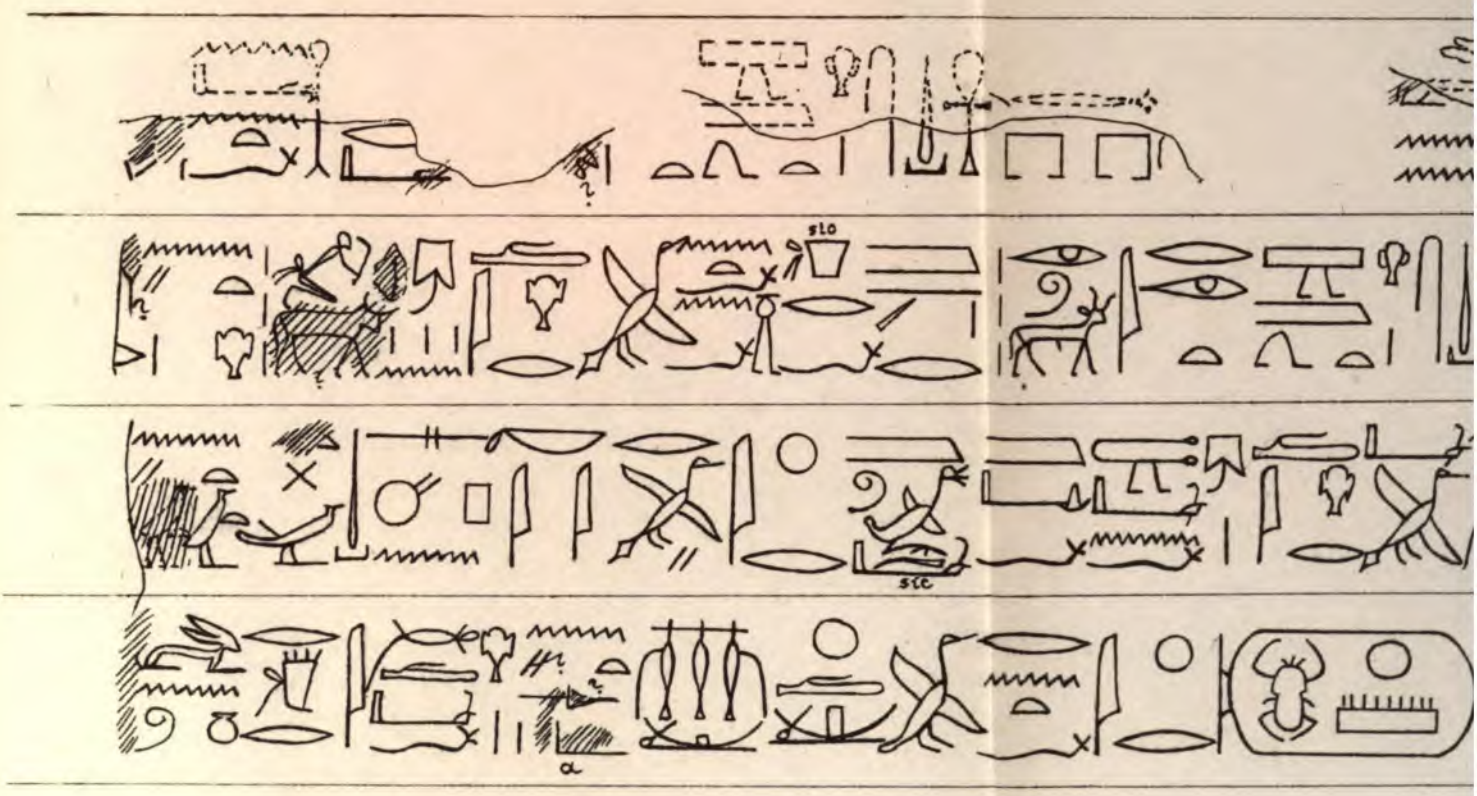

23a
sic?
space rather than
27a erased.
base of bird.
23
25
29
sic

23 a 


23a
sic?
space rather than
27a erased
base of bird.
23
25
a
a
29
sic


gap of 30 centim.

W. M. MÜLLER.

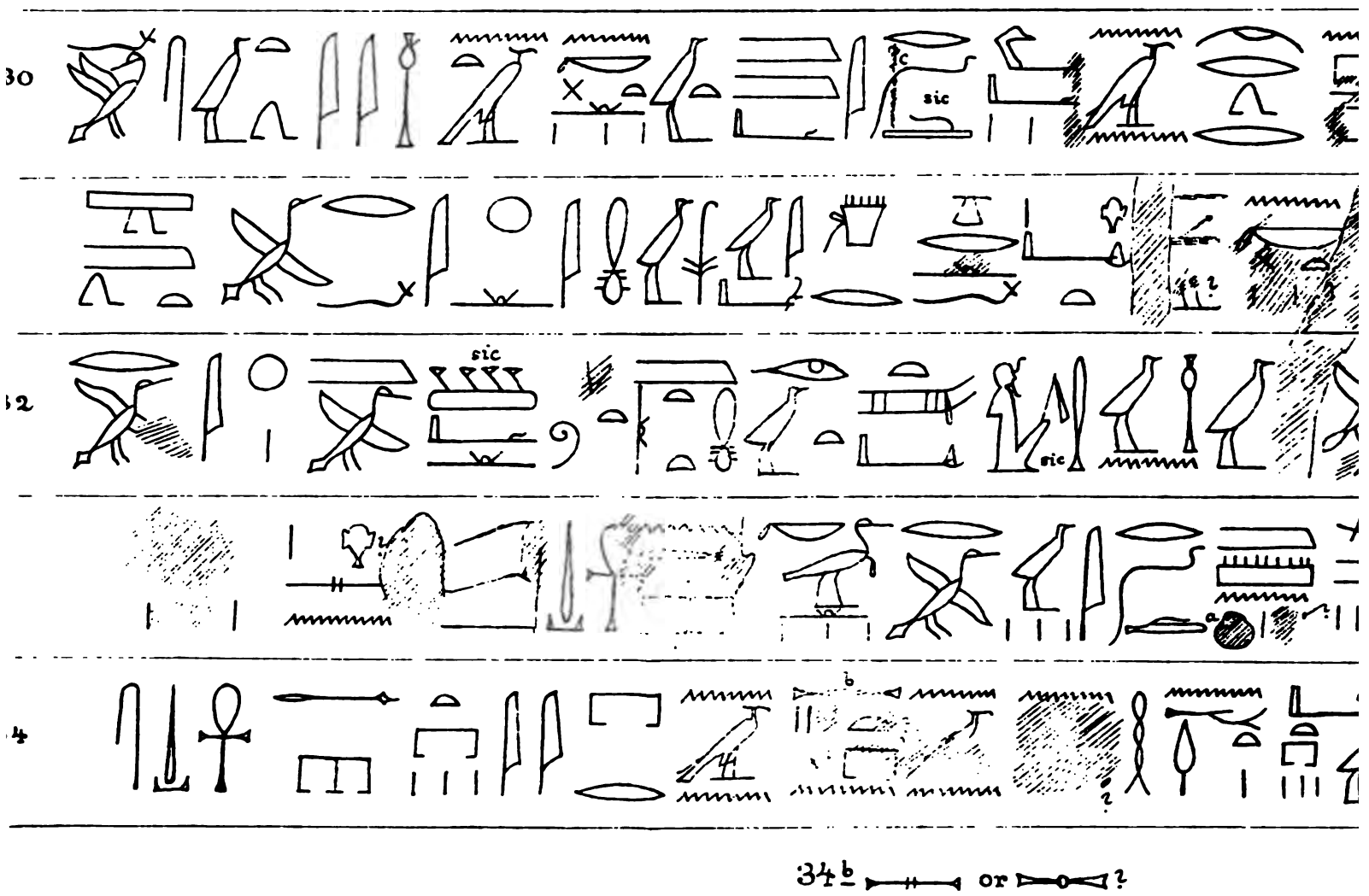


29a read above —||— ?

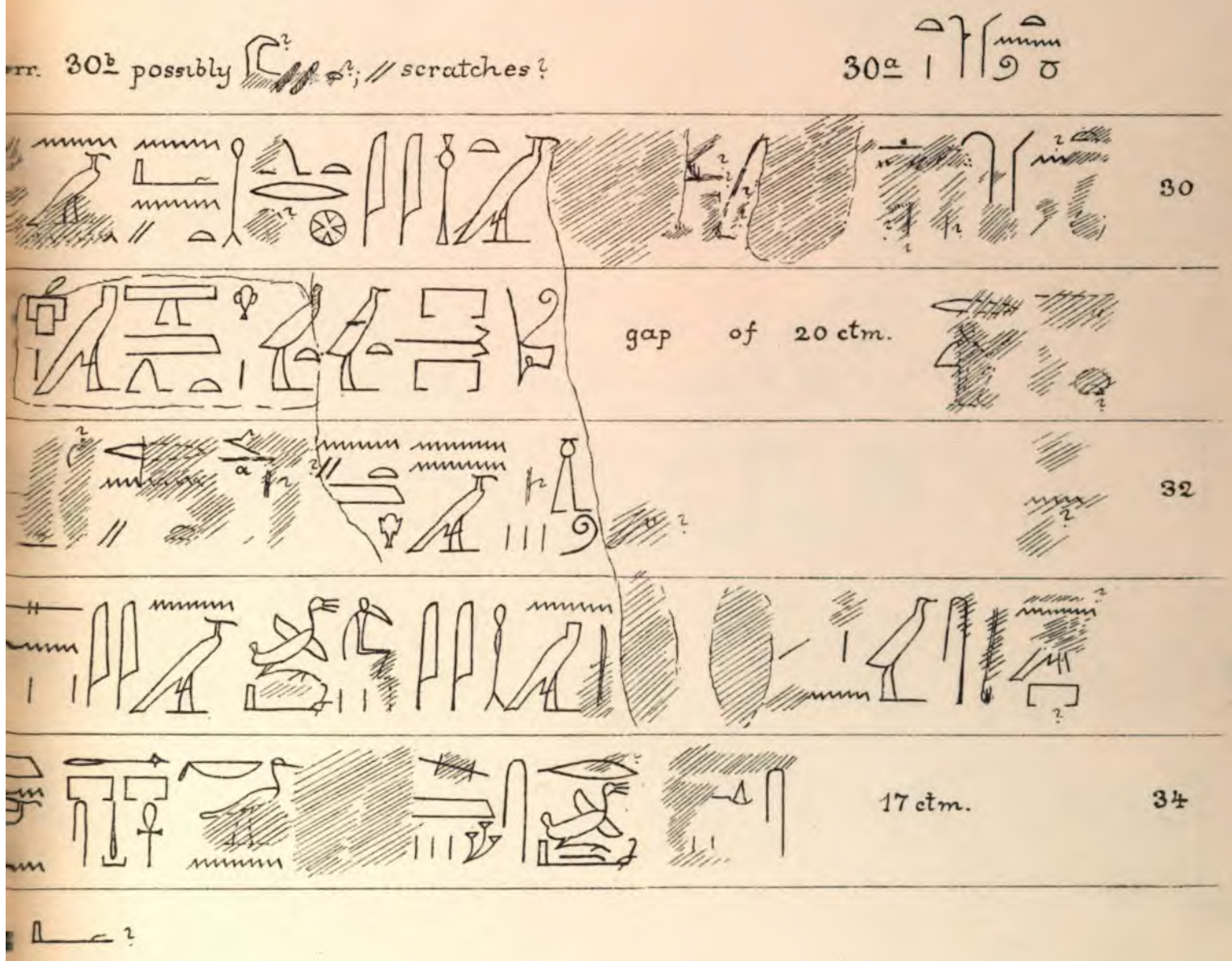
DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY
FRONT, LINE 26 TO 29. PAR
KARNAK.

ANDREW J. CRAMER CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON

33a like ; irregularly low. 32b or ? 32a ?



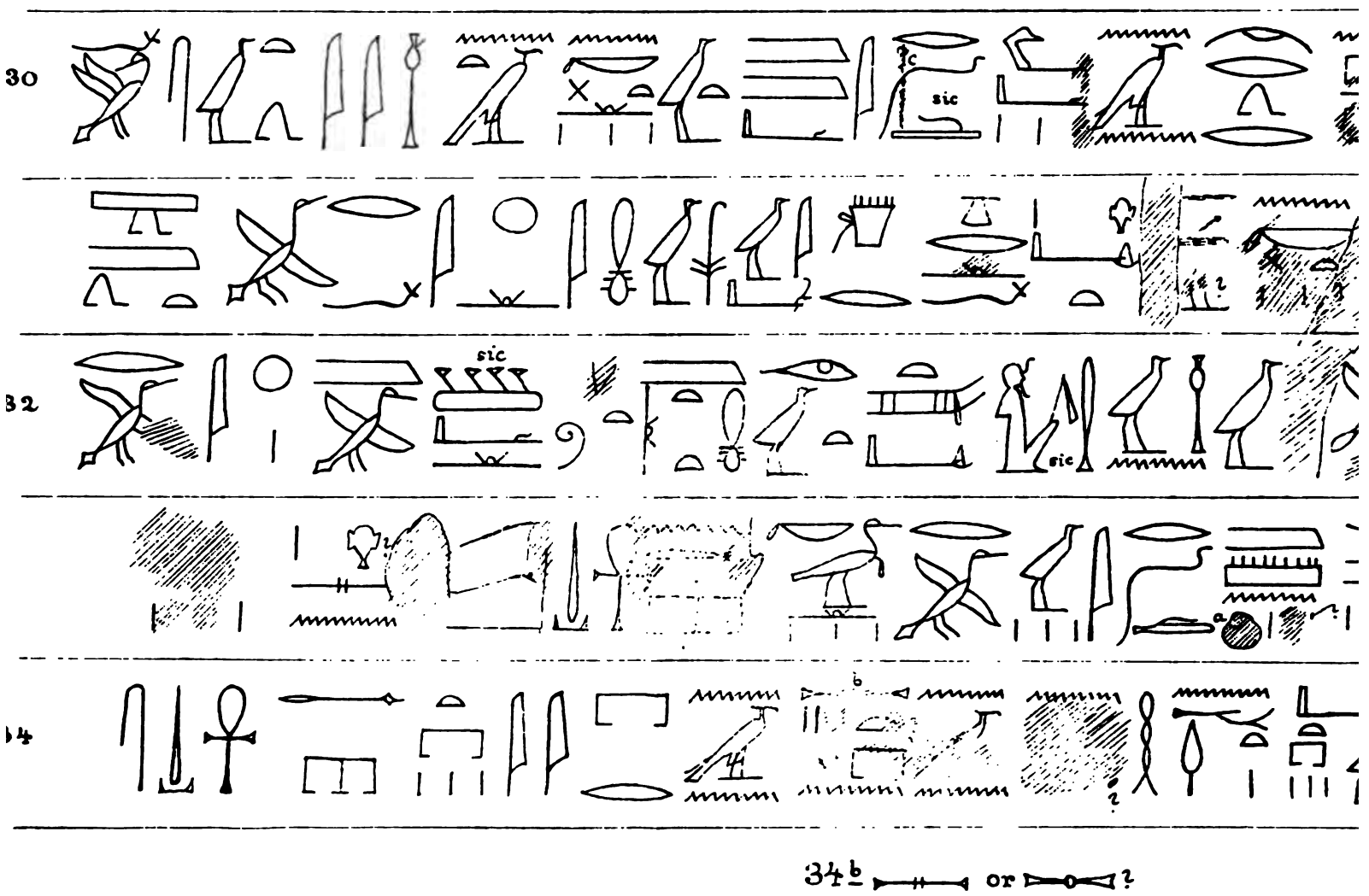
34b or ?



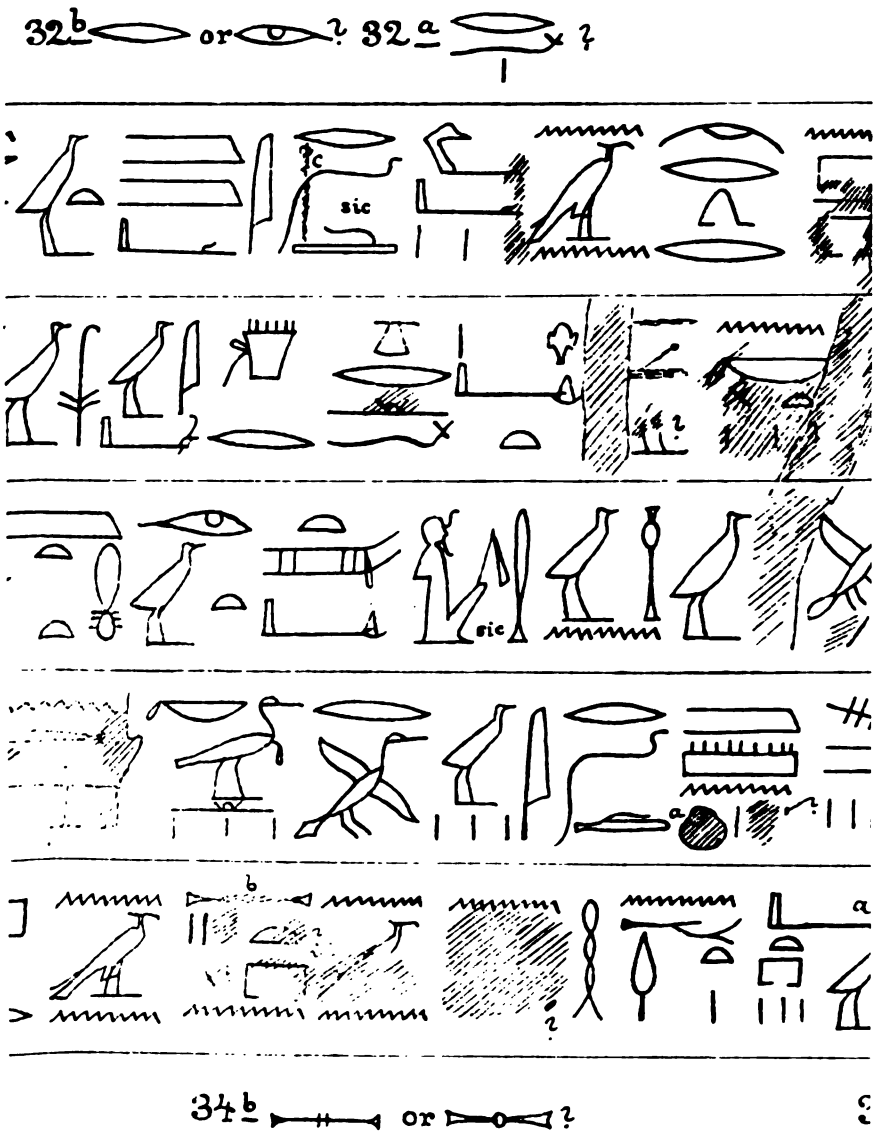
RMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.
34 PART I.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

33a like ☉; irregularly low. 32b or ? 32a ?



34b or ?



DECREE OF ADMIN

FRC

ATE 96

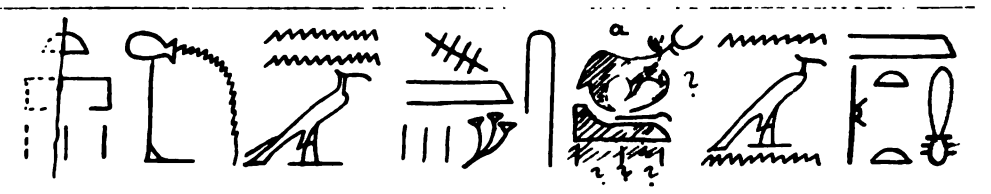
30

32

34

30

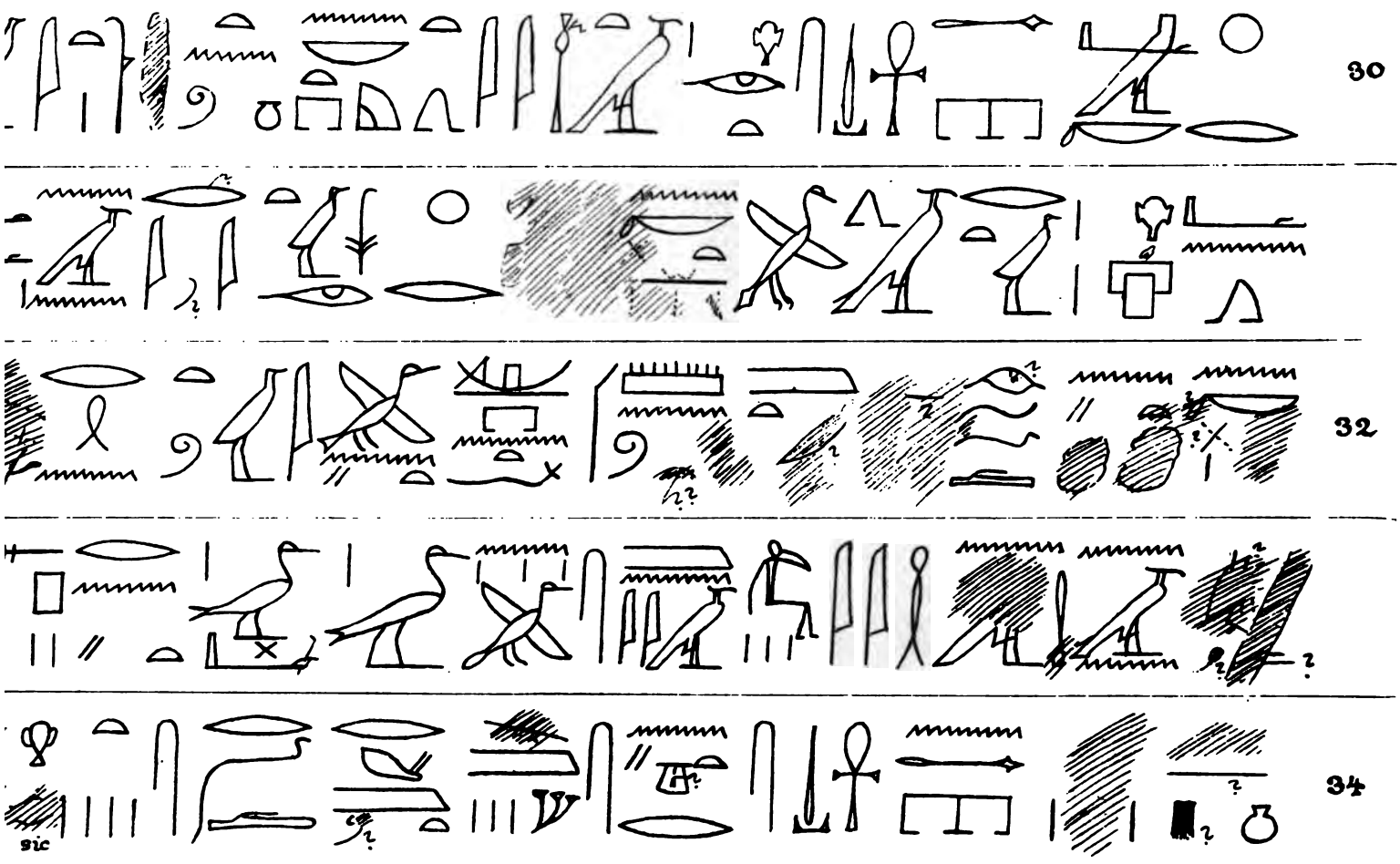
32



destroyed

34

32 a read ? 30 a like ; read ?



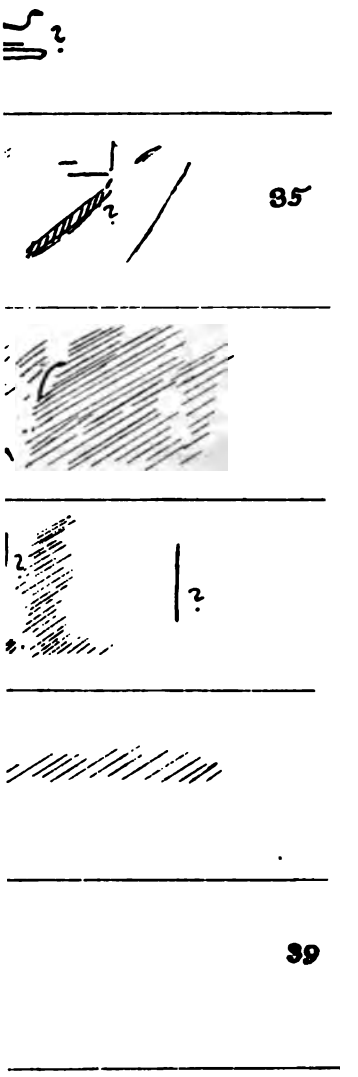
a ? top quite like

MINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.

FRONT, LINE 30 TO 34. PART 2.

KARNAK.

PLATE 97.



38a

35

37

39

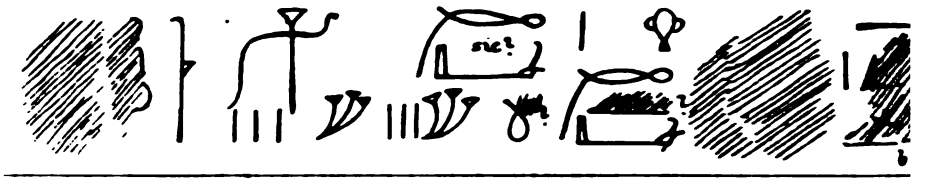
DECREE OF ADMINISTI

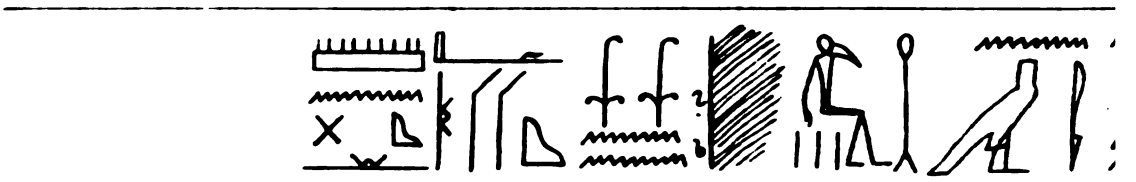
FRON

PLATE 98.

37b or 37a space only for

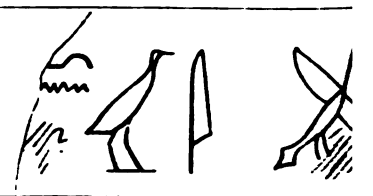
35





37

39



36b like 36a or 35b read ? 35a like

gap of 24 ctm.

royed

17ctm.

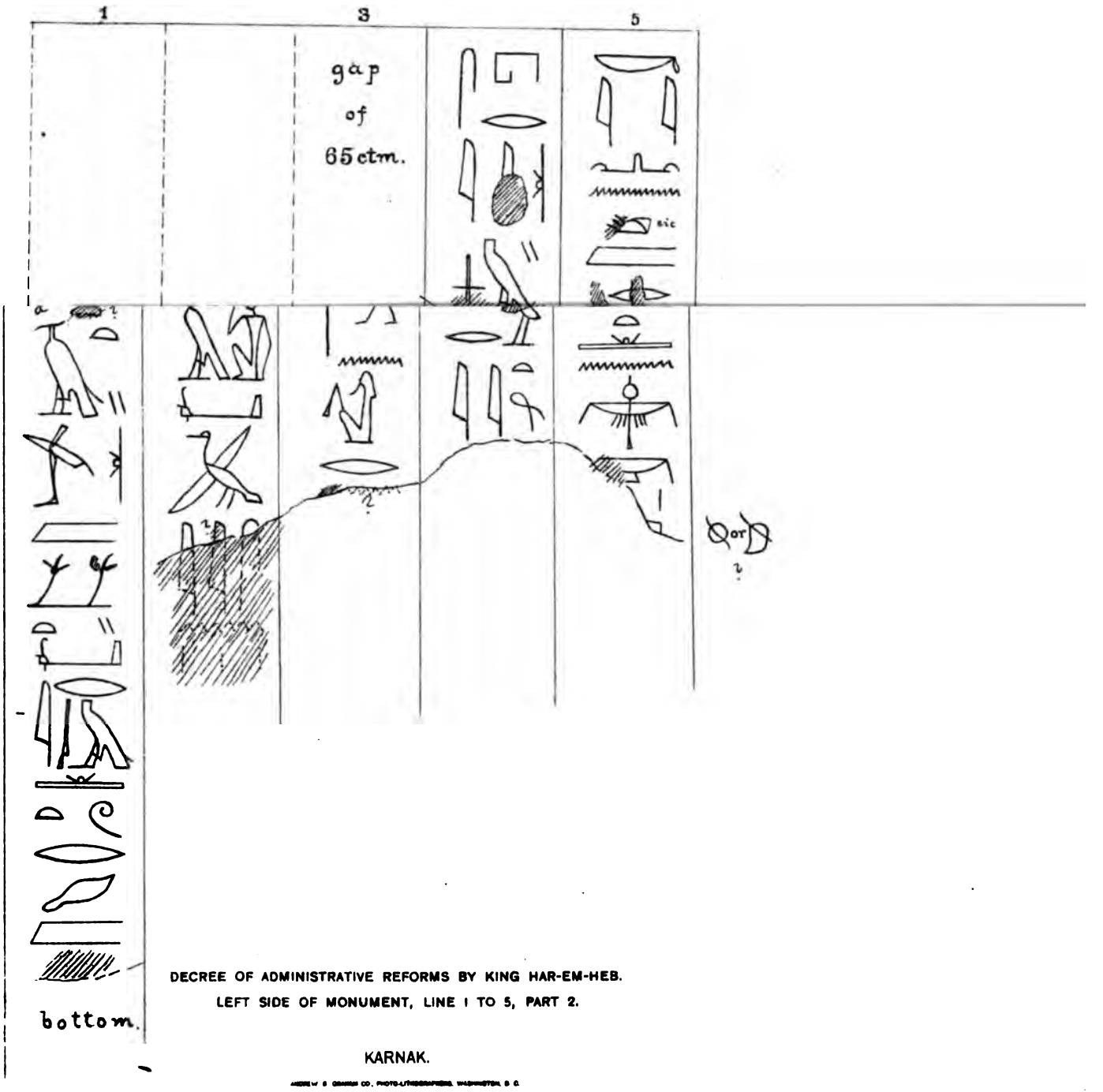
like

TRATIVE REFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.

T, LINE 35 TO 39. PART 2

KARNAK.

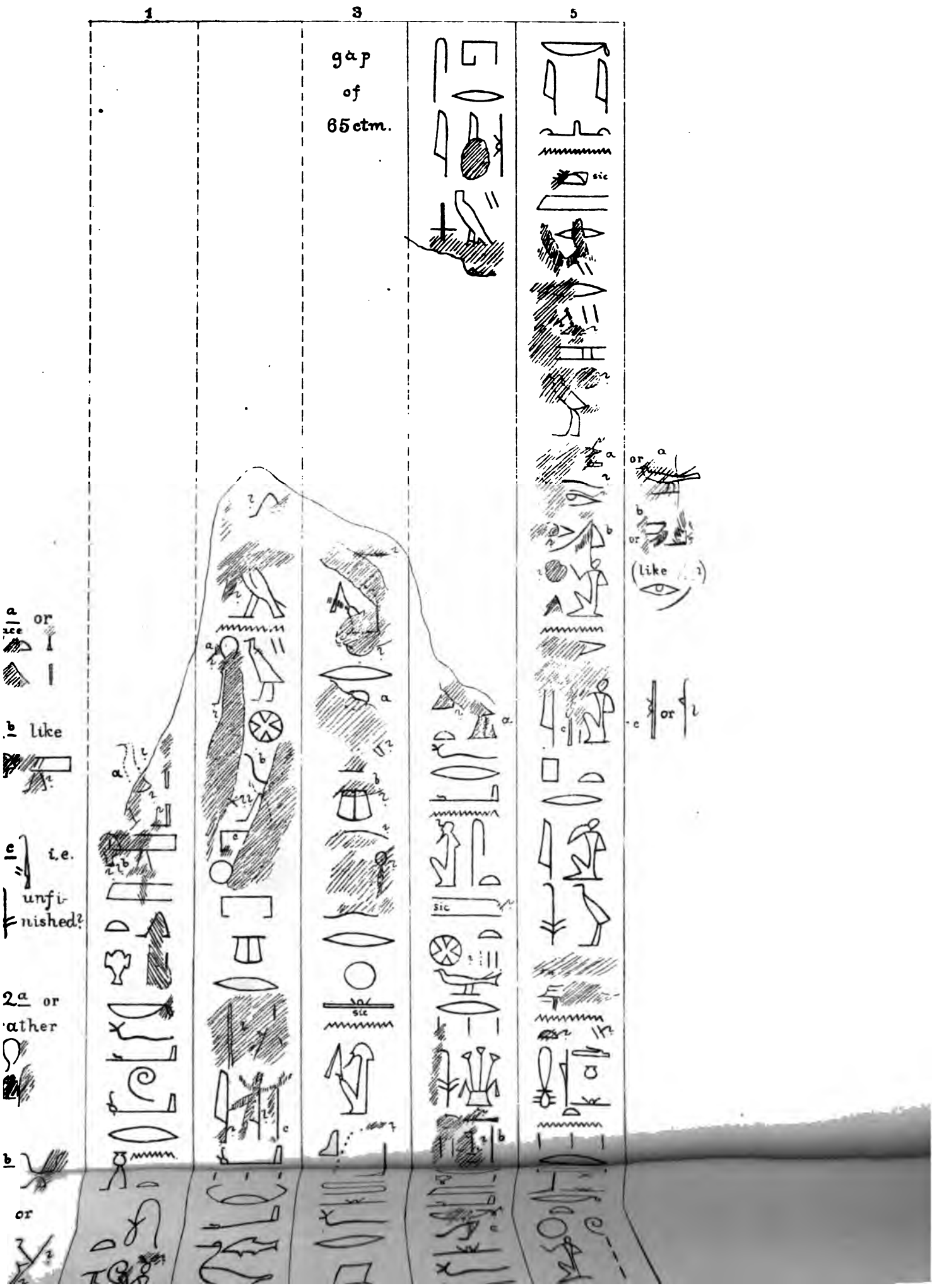
PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS WASHINGTON D C

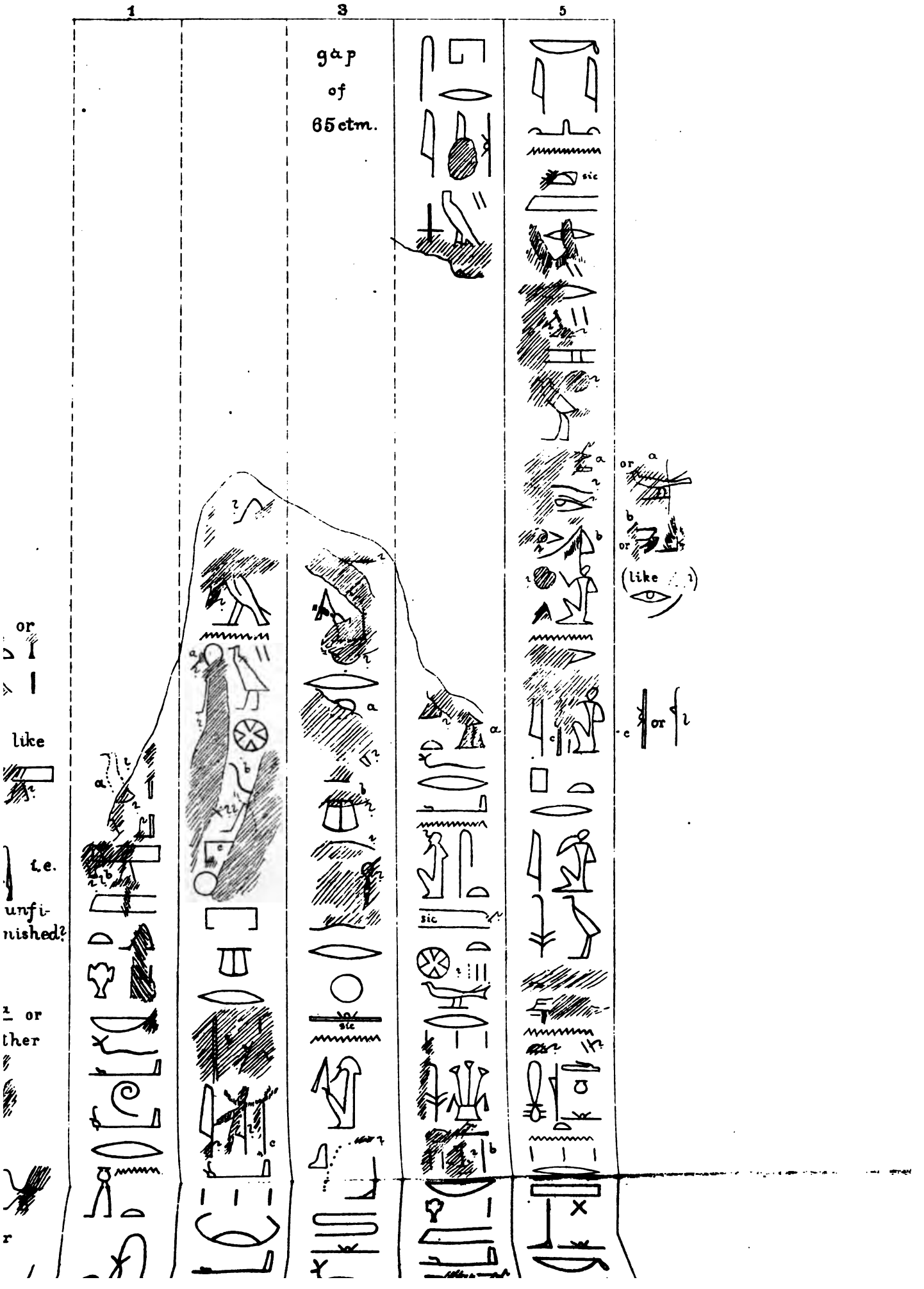


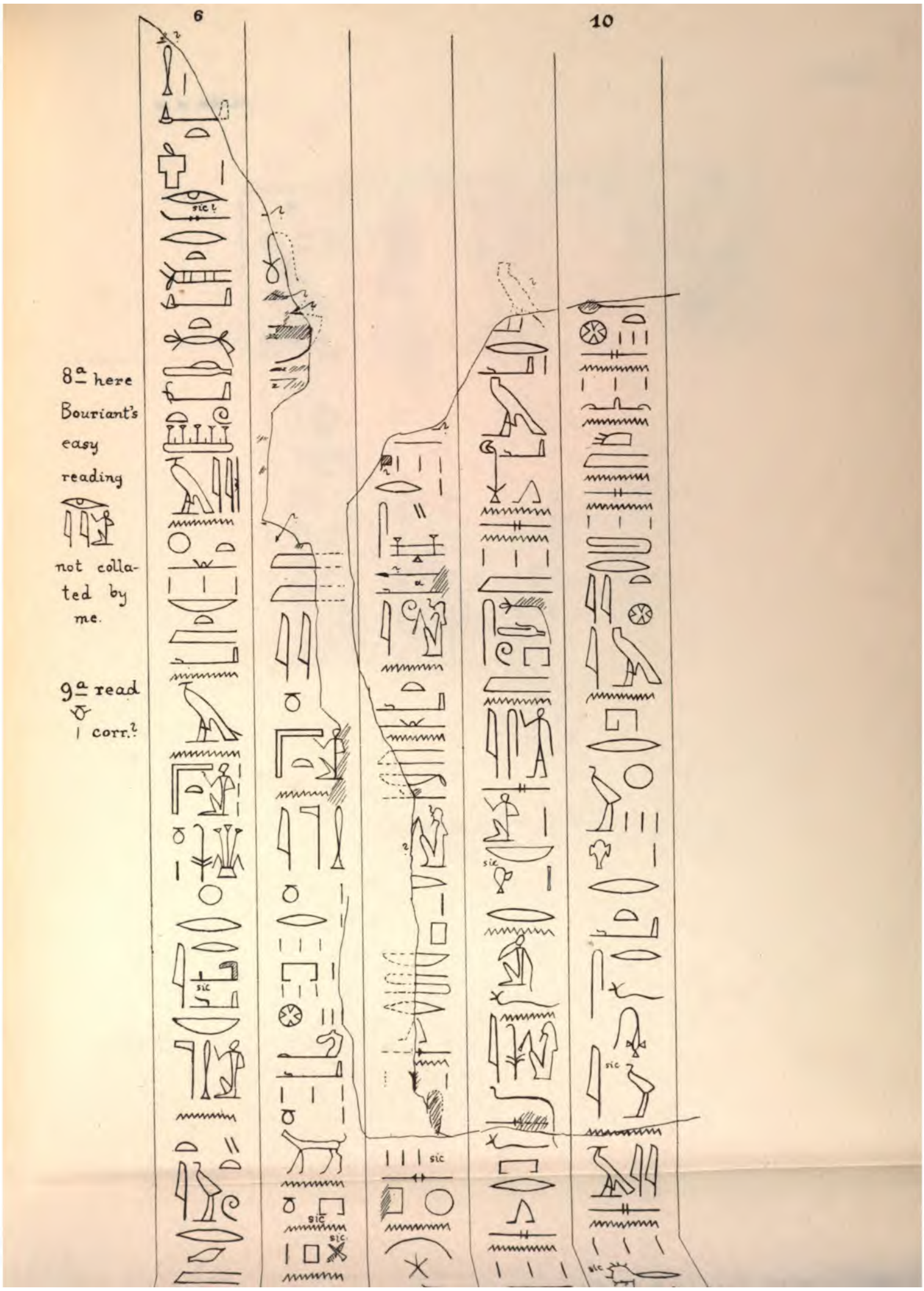
DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.
LEFT SIDE OF MONUMENT, LINE 1 TO 5, PART 2.

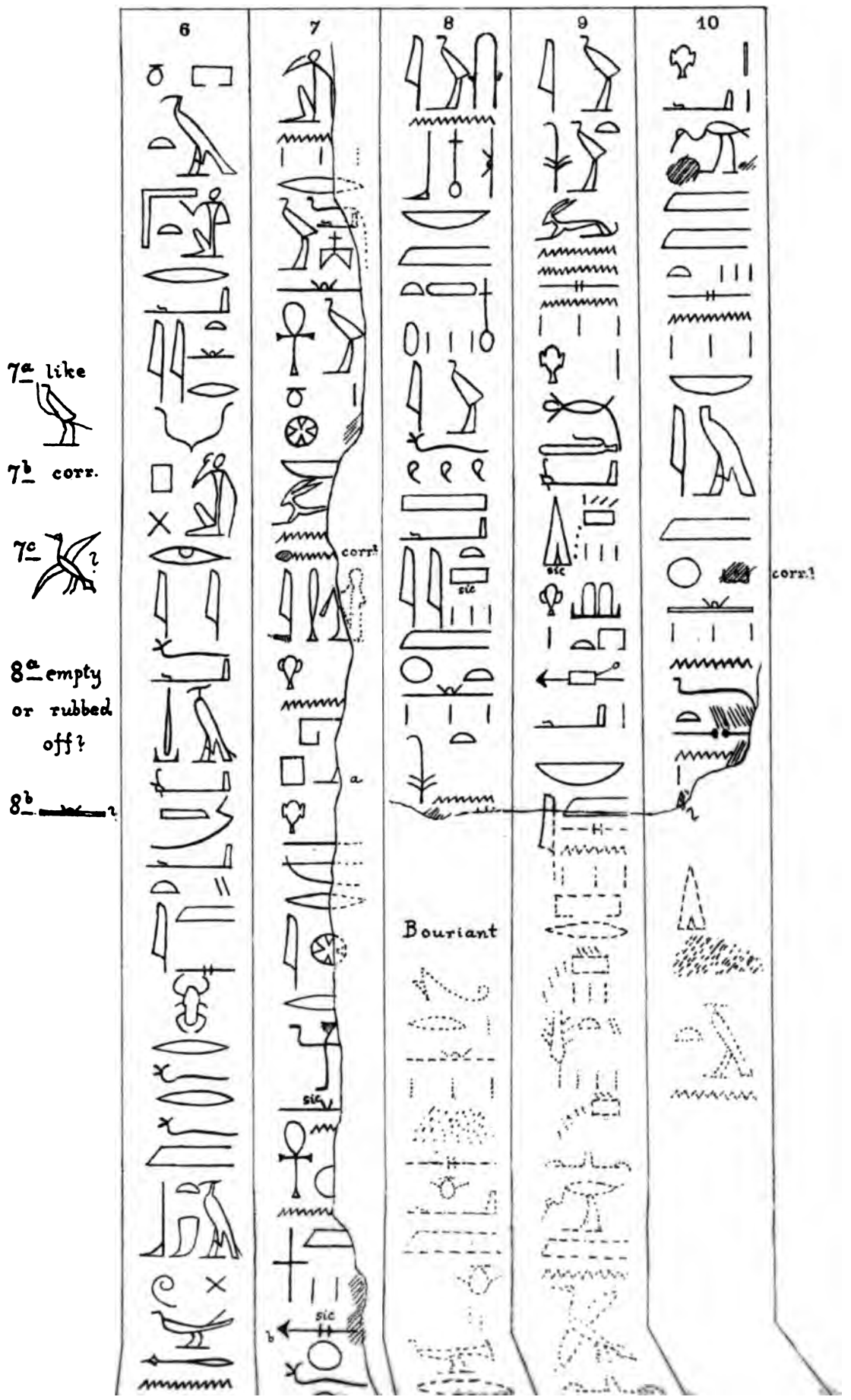
KARNAK.

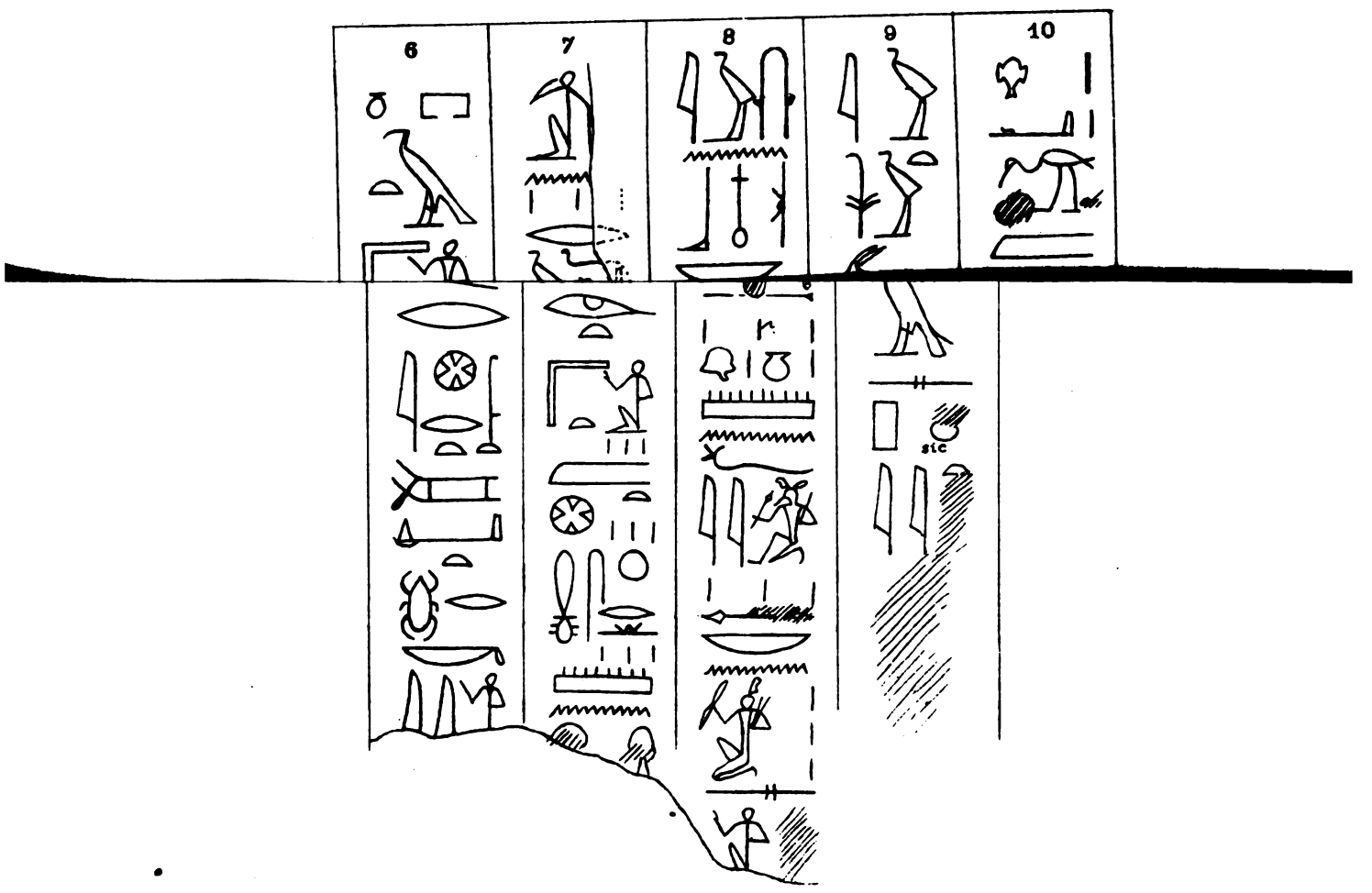
ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.


1
3
5
gap
of
65 ctm.
sic
a
or
b
(like
c
or
a
or
b
like
c
i.e.
unfi-
nished?
2a or
ather
b
or
sic
sic


1
3
5
gap
of
65 ctm.
sic
a
b
c
or
like
i.e.
unfi-
nished?
ther


6
10
8a here Bouriant's easy reading
not collated by me.
9a read
corr.?
sic
sic
sic
sic
sic
sic
sic
sic
sic

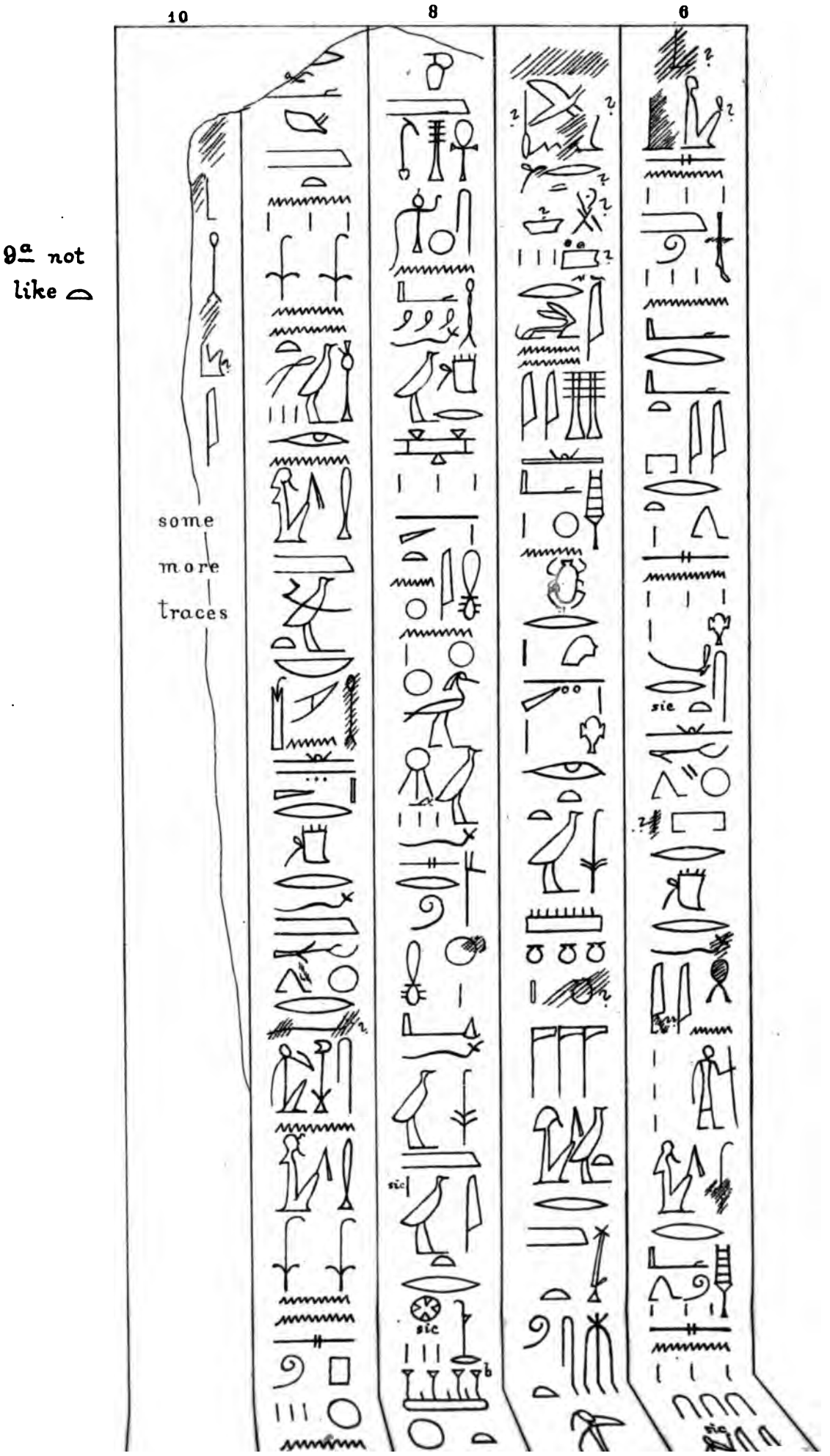

6
7
8
9
10
7a like
7b corr.
7c ?
8a empty or rubbed off?
8b ?
corr.?
sic
a
b
Bouriant
corr.?

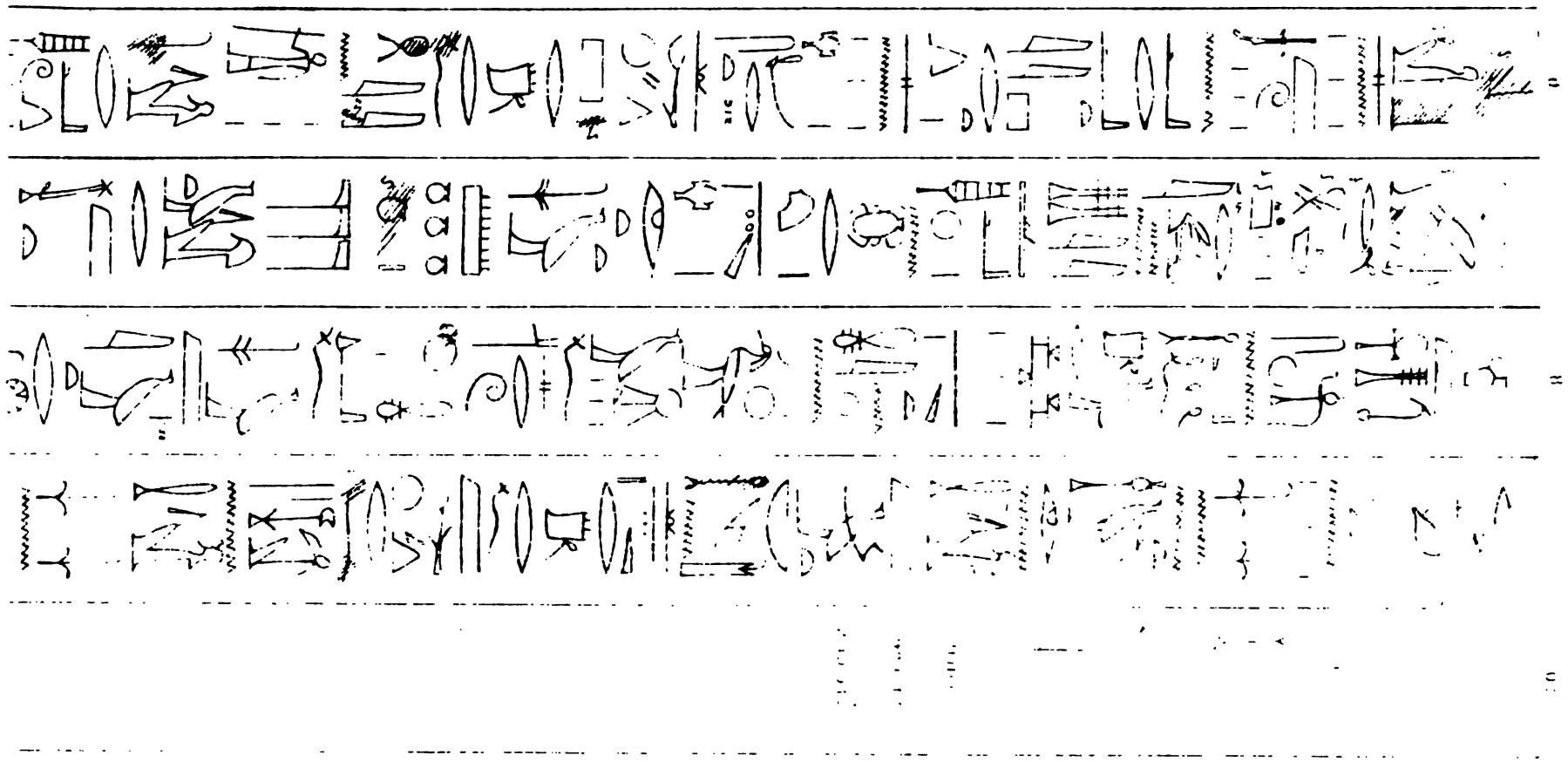


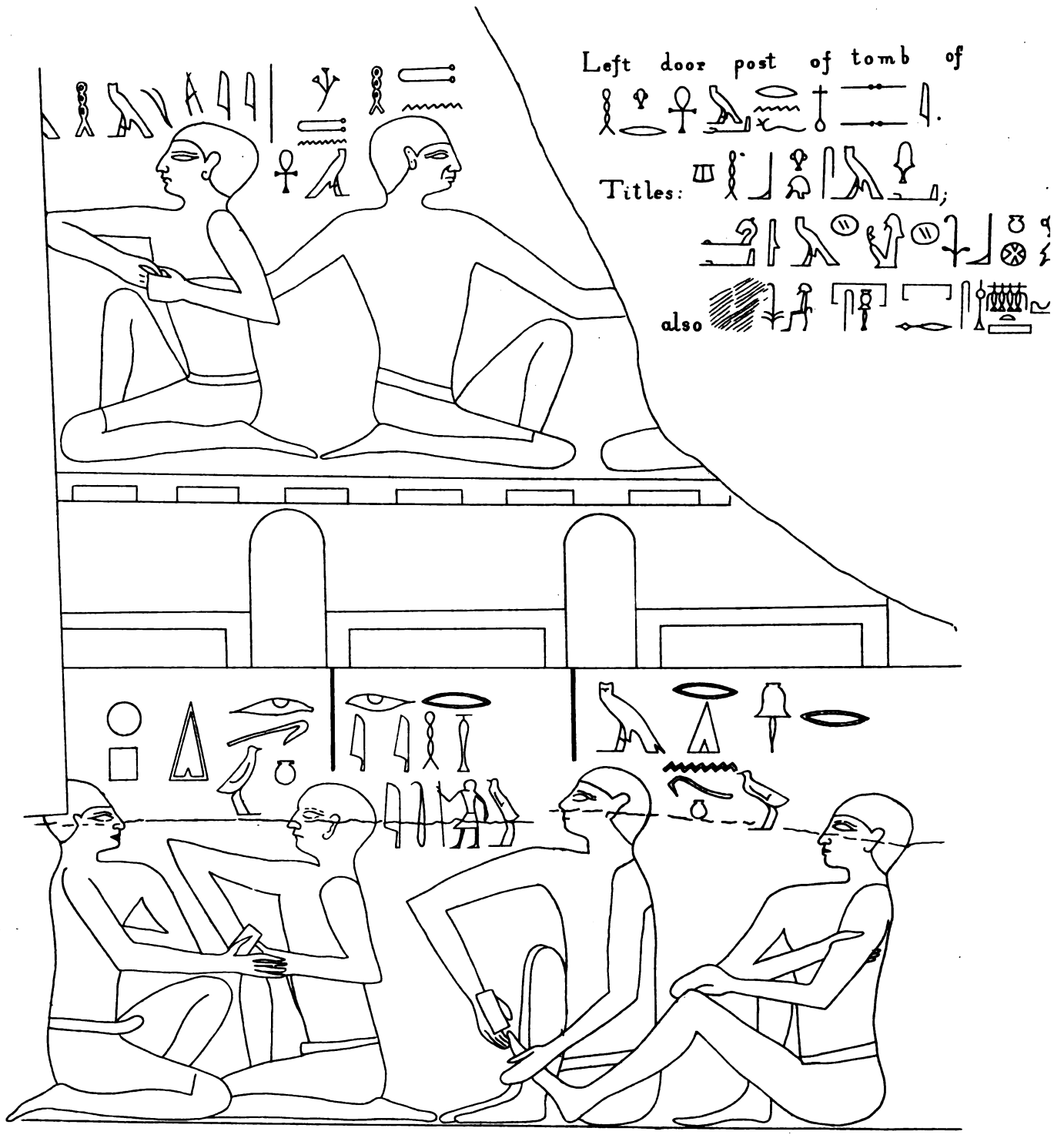
DECREE OF ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS BY KING HAR-EM-HEB.
LEFT SIDE OF MONUMENT, LINE 6 TO 10, LOWER PART.

KARNAK.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO. PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.


10
8
6
9a not like
some more traces
sic
sic
sic
sic

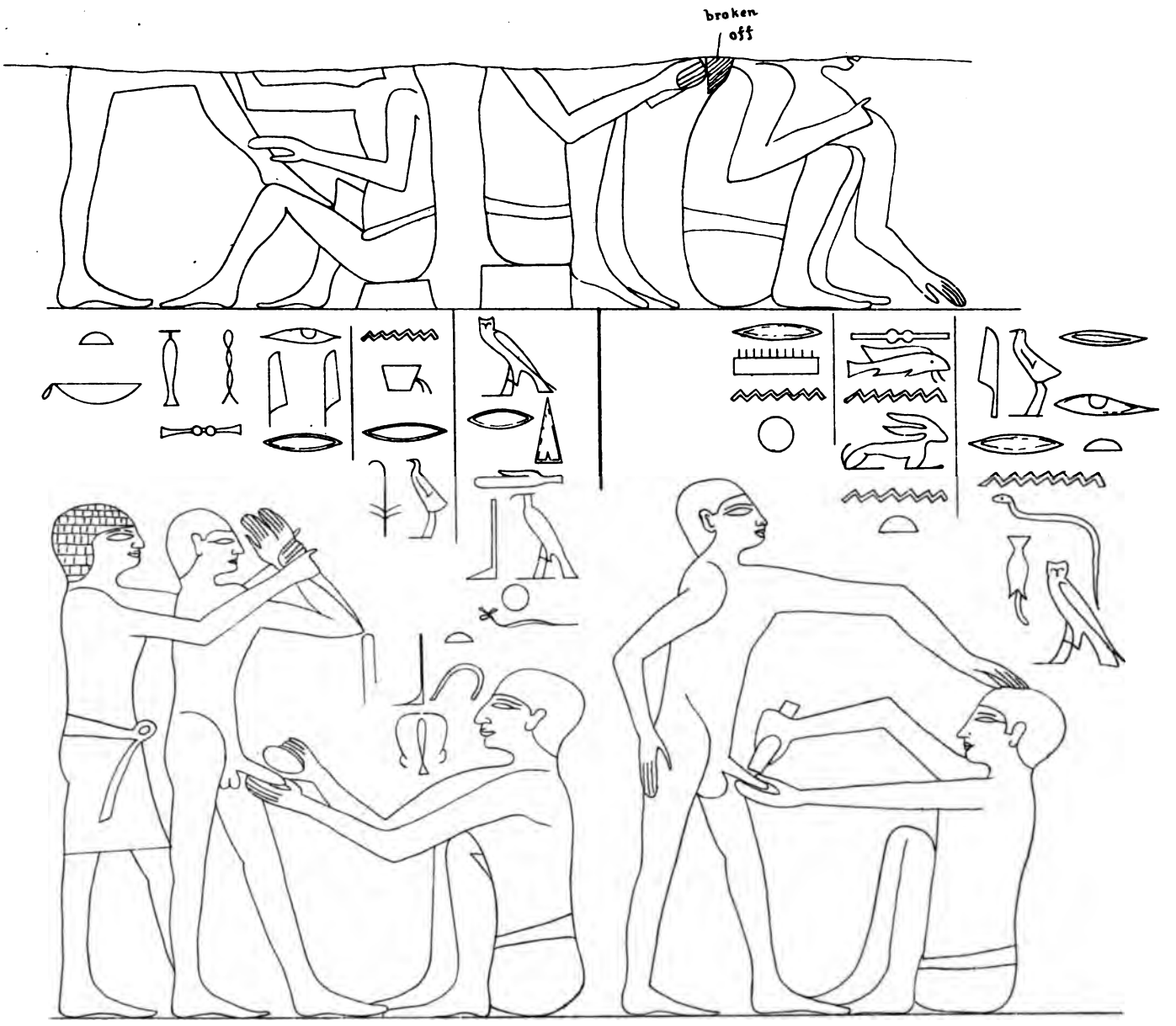




SURGICAL OPERATIONS.

NECROPOLIS OF SAQQARA.

ANDREW H. GRAHAM CO., PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.



Door post of the tomb of

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occurring name .

SURGICAL OPERATIONS.

NECROPOLIS OF SAQQARA.

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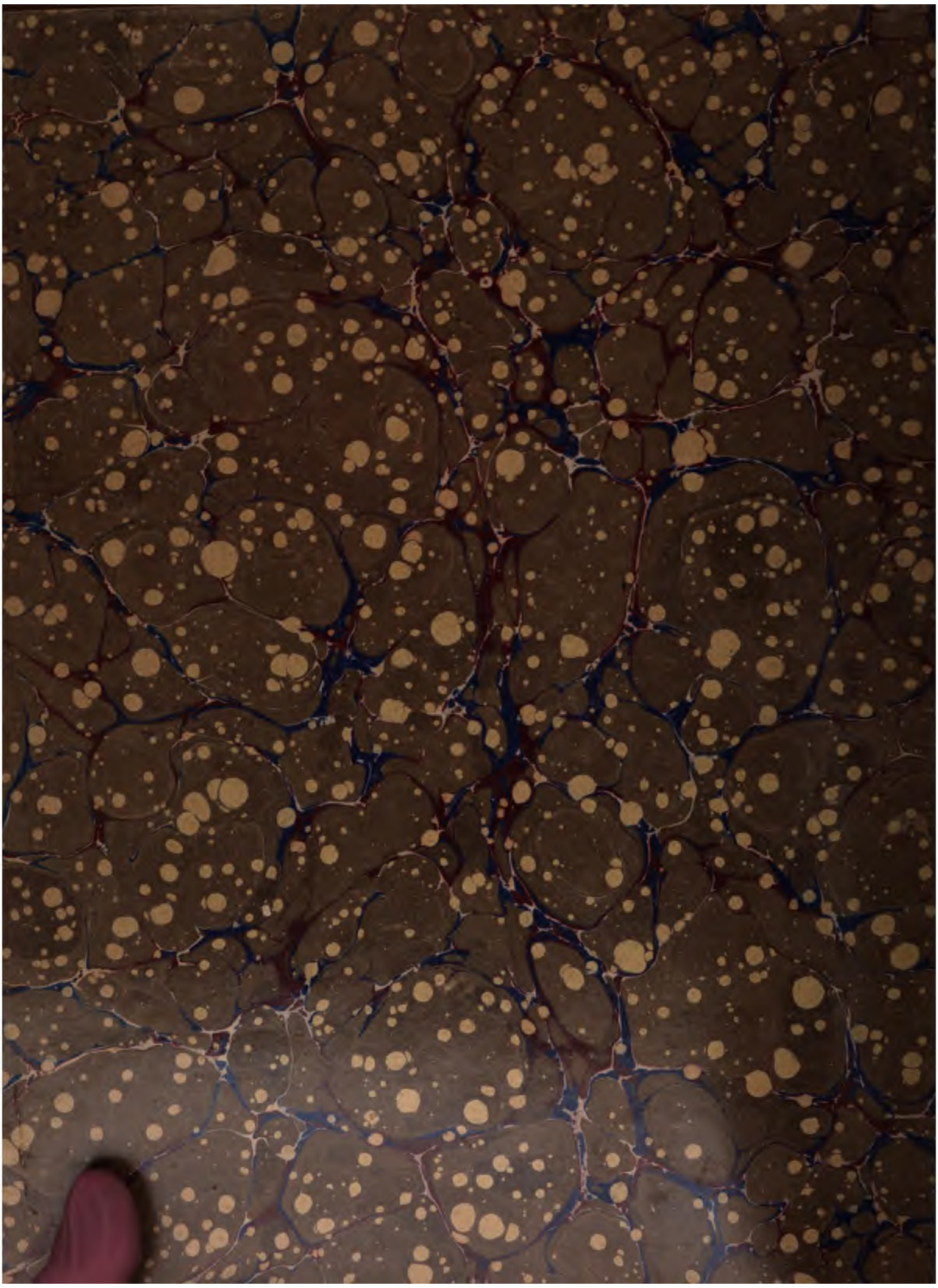

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